

Complementation and Meaning of *Forbear* in 18th and 19th Century British and American English

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Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan muutoksia nykypäivän englannissa jo harvinaiseksi käyneen *forbear*-verbin komplementaatiossa ja merkityksessä 1710-luvulta 1920-luvulle. Pääpaino tutkimuksessa on brittienglannissa, jota tutkitaan kolmeen aikajaksoon jaettua *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* -korpusta hyödyntäen. Jaksotus antaa mahdollisuuden tarkastella muutoksia verbin komplementaatiorakenteissa seitsemänkymmenen vuoden välein aikakautena, joka on erityisesti verbien lausekomplementaation osalta tutkitusti merkittävä. Jaksotus mahdollistaa myös sopivan vertailukohteen muodostamisen *Corpus of Historical American English* -korpukselta, joka alkaa vasta vuodesta 1810. COHA-korpukselta tutkimukseen valikoituivat siten vuodet 1850–1920, jotka vastaavat CLMET-korpuksen kolmatta aikajaksoa. Vertailukelpoisuuden parantamiseksi edelleen COHA:sta valittiin vain sen *fiction*-tekstityyppi, joka parhaiten vastaa pääosin kaunokirjallisista teksteistä koostuvaa CLMET-korpusta.

Tutkimuksen teoreettisena kivijalkana voidaan pitää Günter Rohdenburgin lanseeraamaa käsitettä *the Great Complement Shift*, joka kuvaa viimeisten 400 vuoden aikana englannin kielen lausekomplementaatiossa tapahtuneita muutoksia. Tutkittava verbi *forbear* on aikaisemman tutkimuksen perusteella hyvä esimerkki tästä muutoksesta, sillä sen lisäksi, että verbi alkoi valita *-ing* komplementteja varhain, ne myös lisääntyivät nopeasti *to*-infinitiivien rinnalla. Myös tässä tutkimuksessa *-ing* muodon ja *to*-infinitiivien levinneisyyttä tarkastellaan ajallisesti, mutta myös komplementtivalintaan vaikuttavan *Complexity Principle* -periaatteen pohjalta. *Forbear*-verbin osalta *-ing* muodon esiintyvyyteen on kuitenkin olennaisesti liittynyt myös ns. mikro-semanttinen tekijä, eli verbiä edeltävä *cannot/could not* -rakenne. Rakenteen merkitys onkin tärkeä osa tutkimuksen analyysiä, jossa rakenteeseen sisältyvälle *-ing* komplementin preferenssille pyritään tarjoamaan lausekomplementtien semantiikkaan ja *forbear*-verbin merkitykseen (päälähteenä *Oxford English Dictionary*) pohjautuva perustelu.

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan lausekomplementtien lisäksi myös muita komplementtityyppejä, sekä komplementtien ja verbin eri merkitysten vastaavuutta. NP komplementtien osalta mielenkiintoisin löydös ovat ns. puheakti-substantiivilausekkeet, joiden yhteydessä komplementista on mahdollista jättää pois ylimääräinen kommunikaatioverbi. ZERO-komplementaation analysointi paljastaa sen sijaan mahdollisuuden koko komplementin poisjäännille konteksteissa, joissa sen sisältö on jo käynyt ilmi. Amerikan ja brittienglannin paljastuvat tutkimuksessa pieniksi, vaikka edellä mainitun arvioidaankin olevan komplementaatiokehityksessä lievästi edellä.

Avainsanat: *forbear*, komplementaatio, korpuslingvistiikka, kielen muutos

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1 Introduction

Research on the English language has gone through certain changes along the way to the current situation where electronic corpora are increasingly considered the most useful and easiest way to study and analyze real life, usage-based language. The number of corpora available not only to academic scholars, but also to students of English, is on the increase. The technological advances have eased the way of creating corpora and enabled certain industrious, independent linguists to create their own. As an example could be mentioned Hendrik de Smet's (2005) *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET), which is a historical corpus based on material freely available online. Two other, very large, online corpora by Mark Davies are also available to the interested, free-of-charge. Two of these aforementioned corpora; namely *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) and the CLMET, were used to conduct the study at hand.

The ease provided by the electronic corpora has not, however, been around for a great period of time. The quick technological advances from the 1960s onwards gave rise to the compilation of electronic corpora and generated the field of study as known today (Lindquist 2009:1). Even before that, however, linguists who were interested in the structure of authentic language made use of collections of written texts in their studies. It was a significantly more laborious method in those days, but apt to avoid the criticism directed towards another somewhat popular method that relied solely on the linguists own intuition on proper and improper language and discarded observation of actual usage (Lindquist 2009:8-9, Leech 1968:87-88, cf. also Egan's 2008:3-4 incisive remarks on the subject). Today, indeed, the prescriptive approach has mostly been overrun by the descriptive way of analyzing language. The understanding of language as a constantly evolving system has also been given prominence. Language changes in the interaction between its users and a "stable" language is, unfortunately, a dead language

(Lindquist 2009:2-3, Mair 2002:107-109, Crystal 2000:22-23.) Depicting change in language is one of the focal ideas of the current study, as well.

Even with the feasibility of electronic corpora that has helped to turn the attention to authentic language-use and to gather immense amounts of research material, there is no avoiding the fact, however, that the analysis of the data cannot be successful without some language-based guidelines. Without the ‘linguist’s intuition’, which, admittedly, was criticized above as the sole means and material of research, or – perhaps more importantly – without the generally accepted regularities of language in the form of a theory of language, there is a possibility the analysis will “degenerate into data-driven positivism with counting as its only methodology” (Mair 2002:109, cf. Lindquist 2009:9-10). The issue of the role and importance of a pre-existing theory compared to corpus evidence is, however, still to an extent divided. In the current study, no clear-cut stance is taken either towards the “corpus-based” or the “corpus driven” approach, in the sense that although corpus data is given prominence, theory-based hypotheses are not completely disregarded, either (Römer 2005:8-11). It can also easily be the case, for a novice in this field of study such as I am, that an initial data-based finding of one’s own has turned out to already be a part of an existing theory.

As regards the analysis and interpretation of the data, “counting as the only methodology” has also been criticized from another perspective. A lack of more statistically appropriate and sophisticated tools has been common in the still relatively young field of study, and demands have been made to raise the level of analysis in order to improve the credibility of the field in general (Gries 2006). Methods long employed in other disciplines are starting to make their way into corpus linguistics.

In the thesis that follows, the aim is to give – through analysis of corpus data – a thorough view of the complementation and semantics of the verb *forbear*. This is the premise from which the analysis will then attempt to move towards theories that concern language on a more general level. The initial

idea to study the verb came in the preparations for my BA thesis in the autumn of 2009. The results of the BA thesis proved that more research could be done on *forbear* as the work only scratched the surface. The study at hand also follows in the footsteps of, and is inspired by other related studies, since *forbear* has been of interest to an array of linguists (e.g. Rudanko 2000, Fanego 1996, Egan 2008, Iyeiri 2010).

c888 Ælfred tr. Boethius xxxvi. §1 Hwa mæð forbæran þæt he þæt ne siofiðe.
Who can forbear that he does not sigh for this?¹

Forbear has been in the English language for centuries. The illustration above is the earliest quotation of the verb in the *OED* (s.v. *forbear* v.), found in King Alfred's translation of Boethius. Despite the notable history, the verb is nowadays a rarity. That is also why in the current study the focus is on historical material from the 1710s onwards to the first decades of the 20th century (those interested in earlier developments, see Fanego 1996). The time span will allow me to depict diachronic change, and comparison of the CLMET and COHA will show if and how varieties differ from one another.

In the analysis of the complement patterns, there is a focus on certain extra-semantic factors influencing complementation. The four factors that will be considered are *horror aequi*, extractions, structural discontinuity (insertions) and the *cannot/could not* environment. Regarding the first three factors, it should be noted that Rohdenburg's (1996:151) *Complexity Principle* plays an important role as the rationale behind them. The preference of the *cannot/could not* environment for the *-ing* form complement, on the other hand, has been observed, for example, by Rudanko (2000:125). As the focus is on depicting change in the complement patterns, the implications of *the Great Complement Shift* will also be essential in the analysis of the data (Rohdenburg 2006:143).

¹ I would like to thank professor Juhani Norri of Tampere University for his kind help in the translation of the quotation into modern English. In fact, a truly modernized version would probably use a *to*-infinitive construction as in *Who can forbear to sigh?*, but the *that*-clause is translated to show that the option was available some 1000 years ago.

As for the semantic analysis of *forbear*, an invaluable source of information for this study has been the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the senses provided there. One of the main motivations behind the meaning analysis is to see whether the complementation patterns influence the semantic content of the verb and whether there are any structure-meaning patterns to be found. Thus, the Bolingerian theorem (1968:127), according to which “a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning”, is put to the test. Overall, therefore, the aim of this study can be generalized according to Mair’s (2002:106) list of research goals in corpus studies, the first two of which are here simplified and combined together: to empirically verify/falsify those hypotheses on linguistic change which are proposed in the linguistic literature, and to uncover instances of change and/or variation not previously noticed in the literature.

2 Complementation: An Overview of the Main Concepts

Different theories of grammar often have their own approach to complementation. In the following chapter some basic approaches will be contemplated in order to define the main terminology of the field, and the stance adopted in this study. A traditional, and in a way time-honoured, view of complementation is presented by Quirk et al. (1985:65), who define it as “part of phrase or clause which follows a word, and completes the specification of a meaning relationship which that word implies”. In other words, as regards *verb* complementation, a complement is required to fully express the semantic content of the verb. Using syntactic terminology, the complement structure is often also paralleled with the concept of an object (cf. Noonan 2007:52, Biber et al. 1999:658, Quirk et al. 1985:1170).

There are views, however, which consider the complement selection of a verb to include the subject of the clause as well (e.g. Biber et al. 1999:658). In government theory, the argument structure of the verb comprises both the complement(s) and the subject that the verb subcategorizes for (Haegeman 1994:44). Indeed, the subject and the object “generally represent the entities directly involved in the particular action or event described by the predicate”, which naturally is a viable justification for considering the selection of the subject as well (Radford 2009:8). The practice of noting the subject is also central to the valency theory of grammar (Somers 1987:5).

In this study, however, the term ‘complementation’ is used to refer to only the complements that “follow” the verb, thus excluding the subject position. The point of view does not, however, rule out the possibility of paying attention to the subject position, and thus any noteworthy pattern in the data will be commented on. As an example, one such property worth analyzing is the semantic role² of the subject, which may offer an insight to the semantics of the studied verb. Another reason for analyzing the subject

² As there is no widely acknowledged inventory of all the semantic roles and their definitions, it is worth noting that the current study makes use of the one found in Haegeman (1994:49-50).

is its relation to the subject of the complement clause. This issue will be developed further in section 2.1 below.

2.1 Sentential Complements

In section 2 above, the view adopted in this study on the term ‘complementation’ limited the analysis to the post-head elements only. No further restrictions on the type of complements will be made. However, in the study at hand, as in an array of studies on complementation, there is a specific interest in sentential complements. When discussing sentential complements it is, first of all, necessary to distinguish three “structural types of clauses” which are the finite, nonfinite and the verbless clause (Quirk et al. 1985:992). Setting the verbless clause aside for now, we can note that most languages in the world have the finite / nonfinite division present in their complementation system (Noonan 2007:146). The following list of sentences from Quirk et al. (1985:1049-64) presents “subordinate clauses” that have “the nominal function”, to use their terminology, but basically the sentences illustrate the main sentential complement types found in PE. The illustrations have been renumbered for clarity:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) I noticed <i>that he spoke English with an Australian accent.</i> | (<i>that</i> -clause) |
| (2) I can't imagine <i>what they want with your address.</i> | (interrogative clause) |
| (3) I remember <i>what a good time I had at your party.</i> | (exclamative clause) |
| (4) I took <i>what they offered me.</i> | (nom. relative clause) |
| (5) He likes <i>to relax.</i> / He didn't like (<i>for</i>) <i>me to be alone at night.</i> | (<i>to</i> -infinitive clause) |
| (6) He enjoys <i>playing practical jokes.</i> /
Do you remember <i>the students and teachers protesting against the new rule?</i> | (<i>-ing</i> clause) |

The subordinate clauses in (5) and (6) are non-finite clauses³ – whereas the predicates in (1-4) are marked for tense and modality. Relevant to the current study are the non-finite example sentences, but of special

³ A third type of non-finite clause is the past participle clause, which can be used either as a perfect or passive. Since the perfect use as a complement is restricted to the auxiliary *have*; and the passive use, e.g. “His father got charged with

interest is the *to*-infinitive formation without the explicit subject in (5). The construction is a type of control structure in which the subjectless infinitive clause in the object position is controlled by the overt subject of the main clause (Quirk et al. 1985:1187). In modern literature on linguistic theory and especially in control theory, the understood subject of the lower clause is marked with the symbol PRO, but also the descriptive term ‘null subject’ is used (Haegeman 1994, Radford 2009). Verbs, such as *forbear*, which select infinitive clauses as complements and whose subject is co-referential with that of the lower clause are referred to as ‘subject control verbs’. With this type of verbs the subject can be analyzed as having two semantic roles: one assigned by the verb in the main clause, and the other by the verb in the lower clause (Davies & Dubinsky 2004:4).

However, considering the *-ing* form variant, Quirk et al. (1985:1189) note that the subject of the matrix verb and the understood subject are usually, but not always, co-referential. The same idea has also been expressed by Duffley (2000:236), who refers to Thompson’s (1973) argumentation by noting that “it is the semantics of the predicate under which a subjectless gerundive is embedded that determines which reading is understood”. Consider the illustrations from Quirk et al. (1985:1189):

(7) I love listening to music.

(8) He recommended introducing a wealth tax.

It is clear that in (8), the subject of the sentence is not, at least in a straightforward sense, congruent with the PRO of the lower clause performing the introduction. In both of the sentences there is, however, a PRO: *I love [PRO listening to music] / He recommended [PRO introducing a wealth tax]*.

Turning now back to the list of examples (1)-(6), it is noted here that although finite and non-finite clauses are all considered sentential complements, a certain hierarchy of sententiality between the

manslaughter”, is rather specific as well, the past participle will not be further discussed here (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1174).

different complement types can be detected. Ross (2004:351) has presented this hierarchy with a ‘squish’, which lists the types of complements in the order of their increasing nouniness. The slight modification of the squish is indicated by the parenthesis:

(9) *that* > *for to* > Q(uestion) > *Acc Ing* > *Poss Ing* > Action Nominal > Derived Nominal > Noun

What the squish shows is that *that*-clauses are the most sentential type of complement clauses, and *to*-infinitives are regarded more sentential than interrogative *wh*-clauses, and *-ing* forms. The rationale of this distinction becomes clearer when the historical development of the non-finite clauses in English is taken into account in the following section 2.1.1.

2.1.1 The Great Complement Shift

The Great Complement Shift is a term coined by Günter Rohdenburg (2006:143) and refers to certain widely recognized changes in the English verb complementation system – especially in connection to sentential complementation. The basis for the Shift is the discovery of how the originally noun-like *-ing* form⁴ started to develop verbal characteristics from the late Middle English onwards and has since metamorphosed into the verbal element that it is in PE (cf. Fanego⁵ 1996:33, Vosberg 2009:213, Leech et al. 2009:185). The increased verbal character of the *-ing* form is attested, for example, by the facts that it can now take objects (cf. *practical jokes* in (6) in section 2.1) and that its subject does no longer require the genitive ending (cf. *the students and teachers* in (6) in section 2.1).

⁴ It should be noted that Fanego (1996) uses the term *gerund*, as does Vosberg (2009), in their discussions of the development of this non-finite variant. Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1222), however, note that although the gerund and the present participial – a term also used in referring to *-ing* forms – historically originate from different sources, there is no substantial grammatical evidence for separating the two in PE (cf. also Quirk et al. 1985:1292, who conclude the same). This is one of the reasons why the neutral term ‘*-ing* form’ is used in this study.

⁵ Fanego (1996) herself does not use the term the Great Complement Shift.

As a result of the developments in the character and properties of the *-ing* form, it then slowly started to spread in verbal complementation by first starting to replace ‘unmarked’ infinitives and then also ‘marked’ infinitives, i.e. *to*-infinitives (Vosberg 2009:212–3). An interesting analogy is that the *to*-infinitive itself also derives from nominal constructions (Noonan 2007:69). Earlier on, during the Middle English period, the infinitive started to spread among verbs that usually had only selected finite *that*-clause complements (Vosberg 2009:212–3, Leech et al. 2009:182). In the same manner the *-ing* form began to appear alongside infinitive complements, starting with a group of “certain negative implicative verbs of avoiding and forbearing”, namely *forbear*, *escape* and *refrain*, which were the first to select a “purely verbal gerund” (Fanego 1996:40).

According to Vosberg (ibid.) what the developments in the characteristics of the *-ing* form have led to is that for many verbs and for other governing items likewise, the *-ing* form has become the only possible type of complement by replacing the *to*-infinitive option altogether. The variation between the two forms culminated in the texts of authors born between 1700 and 1750, after which many predicates began to opt for one complement type over the other⁶ (Vosberg 2003a:320). Obviously, however, there are even today numerous verbs with which both types of non-finite complementation occur, which has prompted studies explaining this variation. Some scholars, such as Mair (2002), Leech et al. (2009) and Vosberg (2009), have considered the variation from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, that is, by looking at shifts in the distributions of the two non-finite constructions in time and analyzing these shifts against varieties of English (mostly BritE and AmE). This approach has yielded information on the differences between varieties, but it has also revealed that certain differences in complementation can simply be passing states towards the same end result, when both varieties are moving in the same

⁶ Governing items, such as *decline* and *can’t stand*, which after opting for the *-ing* form for some time started to revert to *to*-infinitive complementation, are referred to as “sporadic reversals” by Vosberg (2009:226).

direction, but are at different stages in their development. Which variety is ‘on the lead’ or ‘lagging behind’ depends on a variety of factors, but Vosberg (2009:227) has noted, for example, that higher frequencies of the governing item in a variety can result in faster developments in its complementation and that AmE seems to favour the less formal *-ing* form complement.

The fact that the English language has developed two seemingly alternate options for non-finite complementation has also given grounds for studies that aim to explain the variation through semantic differences between the two constructions, although some lament that the semantic analysis has not been shown the same amount of interest as the study of the syntactic properties of the two constructions (cf. Smith 2009:361). In the light of the already mentioned Bolinger’s generalization (1968:127) according to which “a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning”, semantic analysis is, indeed, more than justified. At the least, the results can help understand why certain verbs have opted for one construction and not the other, and ultimately, of course, how language conveys meaning through form.

2.1.2 Semantic Contrasts between the *To*-infinitive and the *-Ing* Form

Bolinger (1968:122) himself, before reaching his famous conclusion (section 2.1.1 above), examined the semantic differences between “for-to and *-ing* complementizers”. He approached the issue with the help of minimal pairs, i.e. verbs that allow for both complement types, and concluded that there is a semantic contrast which can be characterized along the lines of “reification versus hypothesis or potentiality” (1968:123-4). In other words, the *to*-infinitive often denotes something unreal(ized), projected or potential, whereas the *-ing* form refers to something that has already been done, that is concrete or where there is an “awareness of a fact” (ibid.). However, Bolinger (1968:122) does also point out that the contrast is not always realized.

Indeed, the difficulty of finding a common semantic thread that would run through all of the different types of complement selecting verbs has been an issue in this field of study. The following section presents a survey of some of the main trains of thought that are connected to the study of the semantic contrast between *to*-infinitive and the *-ing* form, but at the same time it has to limit itself to consider only the issues that are deemed most relevant for *forbear*, or comprehensive enough to shed light on the said verb as well⁷.

Allerton (1988) makes an attempt to put all the pieces together by considering the two constructions both in the subject and in the complement position (of verbs, adjectives and nouns). As for verb complementation, however, he immediately has to concede that the choice of the complement type depends mostly on the “actual lexical item chosen as main verb” and that no *single* semantic contrast can be determined (Allerton 1988:15). Instead, based on his findings on verb, noun and adjective complementation, Allerton (1988:21) construes two *lists* of semantic contrasts between the two complement types:

INFINITIVE	GERUND	
infrequent activity	regular activity	
intermittent activity	continuous activity	
interrupted activity	continuing activity	
uncompleted activity	completed activity	
contingent/ possible event	event presented factually	
particular time and place	neutral time and place	
specific subject	non-specific subject	
more verbal character	more nominal character	(Allerton 1988:21)

The *possibility* vs. *factuality*⁸ factor is also listed in Allerton’s table. Dirven (1989:119) refers to it as well by noting that where *to*-infinitives are connected to *volitional* subjects, they denote a *potential*

⁷ For a more comprehensive introduction to the works on this field of study, see Egan (2008:45–85).

⁸ Not to be mixed up with the term *factive*, which refers to the influential theory by the Kiparskys (1970:147), in which they propose a connection between factive verbs (that presuppose the truth of the complement) and the *-ing* complement. As the study is fairly restricted in the types of heads it discusses (factive vs. non-factive predicates), and as *forbear* does not comfortably sit with either semantic-syntactic group, the work is not further considered here.

occurrence of a single action, whereas *-ing* complements are more noun-like and therefore represent *unbounded* and *non-individualized* activity, or general state (cf. Allerton's neutral time and place / more nominal character). However, Dirven (1989:127) also sees a connection between the *-ing* form and *reality*, and considers it an explaining factor as to why verbs of "near reality", such as *avoid*, *escape*, and *miss*, also subcategorize for the *-ing* form. The verb type, although not the only one identified by Dirven, is interesting as it stands perhaps closest to the meaning of *forbear*.

On the other hand, Dirven (1989:120) makes note of verbs that denote volition and "an effort leading to achievement or failure". Verbs of this type are, however, listed as selecting the *to*-infinitive complement. Relating this again to *forbear*, it is clear that the verb denotes strong mental volition and the inherent negativity of the verb suggests achievement in the act of forbearing (a negative implicative verb, cf. Karttunen 1971:352). It thus seems that the verb can be analyzed from two different perspectives: as denoting *achievement* (something that was about to happen was not, due to mental activity, realized) or *near reality* (it was a close call). This distinction could then affect the choice of complement for *forbear*, if Dirven's analysis is accepted. However, other scholars, such as Quirk et al. (1985:1191), who have noted the 'potentiality vs. performance' distinction have regarded the complementation of certain inherently negative verbs, such as *escape* or *avoid* (Dirven's 'near reality'), as an argument *against* the idea of 'performance' or 'reality' connected to *-ing* complements.

What becomes clear from the works exploring the semantic difference between the *-ing* form and the *to*-infinitive is, indeed, that the different layers of meaning in each verb play a role in the choice between the two. Thus, a common approach has been to group together verbs from the same semantic field and consider the differences group by group (e.g. Allerton 1988, Quirk et al. 1985:1191-3, Noonan 2007, Dirven 1989, Egan 2008 and Rudanko 1989). This approach often offers interesting insights pertaining to the specific semantic group in question, and in some cases also suggests how the findings

can be projected to a larger, more varied set of predicates, and in the case of Noonan (2007), even across languages.

Although the semantics of *that*-clause complementation is not considered here, it is still worth noting a difference that Noonan (2007:111–2) draws between *finite* and *infinitival* complementation (emphasis by V.P.):

In English, infinitives [...] are associated with DTR contexts, while indicatives are associated with ITR⁹ contexts. *Infinitives occur as complements to predicates expressing commands, requests, intentions, desires*, etc. They do not normally occur as complements to predicates that are assertive, commentative, or express propositional attitude, all of which take indicative complements in English.

The interesting connection between non-finite complementation and the semantics of the predicate described by Noonan above is also echoed in Rudanko (1989:22–23), who categorizes control verbs into three dominant sense types that all have in common the idea of *volition* – also mentioned in connection to Dirven (1989), above. The three sense types identified by Rudanko (ibid.) are ‘desideration’, ‘desideration and intention’, and ‘desideration, intention and endeavor’, and the element of volition is considered an essential factor in explaining the semantics of both the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* form (Rudanko 1989:150–1). Among verbs that do *not* express volition, e.g. certain verbs of verbal communication, the *that*-clause complement is more typical (cf. Noonan above) (Rudanko ibid.).

But although the element of volition applies to both types of non-finite complementation, it also suggests a difference between the two. Rudanko (1989:47) found a positive correlation between *to*-infinitives and predicates expressing *positive* volition, and another one between *–ing* form complements and *negative* volition predicates¹⁰. This link between positive volition, i.e. working towards the

⁹ DTR stands for ‘dependent time reference’, i.e. the idea that the time reference of the complement is a “necessary consequence of the meaning of the [Complement Taking Verb]”, whereas with ITR, i.e. “independent time reference”, there is no such connection (Noonan 2007:102).

¹⁰ It should be noted that Rudanko’s work is more of typological nature, based on the categorization of studied predicates and their numbers, not on actual corpus data.

realization of the action in the lower clause, and the *to*-infinitive is proposed to stem from the preposition-based *to* element, which is seen to have retained some of its original ‘movement towards a goal’ meaning (Rudanko 1989:34). However, the work does not explain why *forbear*, although expressing negative intention, is listed among both verbs that select *-ing* form complements, and *to*-infinitives (Rudanko 1989:23, 45).

The view that the *to* element carries meaning was already noted by Jespersen (1940:192), who states that in instances “where this idea of direction is clearly discernible, the verb cannot take the gerund as object”. A more recent work by Duffley (2000:232–3) even goes as far as to consider *to*-infinitives as “prepositional phrases acting as adverbial goal or result specifiers”; an analysis that, according to Duffley, explains why there is a certain sense of temporal orientation, or more specifically, *subsequence*, between the governing verb and the *to*-infinitive complement¹¹. For Duffley (2000:233–5), the complement action represents “the end point of a movement”, regardless of whether the action is realized (*managed to do smth*) or not (*wanted to do smth*). Smith (2009:369–70), for his part, also adopts the view of the prototypical sense of *to*. He uses the “source-path-goal schema” as a base from which he works towards more abstract meaning extensions, such as *intentionality*, *futurity*, or *potentiality*, *conceptual distance* and viewing the complement action *holistically* – many of which are in accordance with the findings from earlier studies (*ibid.*).

Egan (2008:95–96), in one of the most comprehensive, usage-based studies within the field, also accepts the view that *to* expresses moving towards a goal. Egan’s (2008:99) definition of the *to*-infinitive complement is as follows: “a situation, viewed as a whole, is profiled as the more/most likely of two or more alternatives in some specific domain”. It should be borne in mind that although this ‘targeted

¹¹ Cf. the extract from Noonan, above, with a similar analysis concerning DTR. However, Noonan (2007:104) does not refer to any original sense of *to*. Also, with DTR the time reference does not have to be to future, but it can also be simultaneous or non-specific.

alternative approach' considers the action in the *to*-infinitive "a probable rather than a possible candidate for realization" it does not project it as a certainty (Egan 2008:96). Therefore, the *to*-infinitive cannot be used with predicates that encode 'Same-time' or 'Backward-looking' constructions, in which the situation is perceived as on-going or as already realized (Egan 2008:99). Instead, these two constructions are better suited for the *-ing* form complement, which "never impl[ies] any element of doubt [but] always profile[s] a situation as occurring, or non-occurring, in some specified domain" (Egan 2008:135). Thus, the element of *certainty* is more pronounced with *-ing* forms – a finding which does seem to concur with what has been stated earlier on the subject. Egan (2008:128), however, adds to this definition the elements of *duration* and *imperfectivity* – two characteristics of the progressive that according to Egan's analysis are essential to the meaning of the *-ing* complement as well (cf. also Dirven's 'unboundedness'). These elements contrast with the aforementioned idea of 'wholeness' connected to the *to*-infinitive.

All in all, there seems to be a much better consensus on the semantic contribution of the *to*-infinitive than there is on the part of the *-ing* form. For example, Duffley (2000:228) does not attribute much meaning to the *-ing* form at all, but views it simply as the direct object of the matrix predicate, i.e. as what is "[verb]ed in the event expressed by the matrix". The point that Duffley (ibid.) stresses is that there is no temporal relation between the matrix and the *-ing* complement– a statement that is more or less the opposite of Smith's (2009:376) analysis, where he argues that the defining characteristic of the *-ing* complement is, indeed, the fact that it always has some kind of *overlap*, either temporal or conceptual, with the process evoked by the matrix verb.

So far it thus seems that the field of study under discussion has not been able to reach a conclusion that would also satisfy all those working with the semantics of complementation. Mair (2002:111) has also pointed out the problems of drawing too strong semantic contrasts in a situation where things are still in progress by comparing the attempt to "someone shooting at a moving target". In the analysis part

of this study, however, these intriguing theories will be brought up when they are projected against the data to see whether some explanation for the variation between the *-ing* complement and the *to*-infinitive with *forbear* could be found.

2.2 Distinguishing between Complements and Adjuncts

In order to analyze the different complements of a verb, one must be certain that the elements under scrutiny are complements. Consider the following sentence from (Wekker and Haegeman 1985:46):

(1) He unfolded his magazine (for the girl) (quite unexpectedly) ...

The parentheses in (1) identify the elements the verb *unfold* does not subcategorize for (*ibid.*). They are part of the VP, but considered optional, and therefore only serve to give additional information on the “place, time, manner [and] condition” of the action denoted by the sentence (Wekker and Haegeman 1985:71). Elements such as these are called *adjuncts*.

Optionality is indeed considered one of the defining characteristics of adjuncts (Schütze & Gibson 1999:426¹²). It forms the theoretical basis for the basic ‘omission test’, which has been devised to help in the analysis of post-head elements. The rationale of the test is simple: if the omission of an analyzed element renders the sentence either ungrammatical or changes the meaning of the matrix verb, it is a complement. But if neither meaning (of the verb, *per se*) nor grammaticality is affected, the deleted element is more likely an adjunct (cf. Wekker and Haegeman 1985:76, Herbst et al. 2004:xxx-xxxi, Huang 1997:75, Somers 1987:12-13). Consider the following illustrations from Huddleston and Pullum (2002:671, renumbered by V.P.):

- (2) She behaved outrageously / She behaved.
- (3) They treated her pretty shabbily. / They treated her.

¹² Schütze and Gibson (1999) use the terms *argument* and *modifier* for what are called *complements* and *adjuncts* in this study, respectively.

These illustrations show the difference in the meanings of the verbs *behave* and *treat* with and without the complement, although each formulation is otherwise well-formed. However, as Schütze and Gibson (1999:426) point out, the test is not watertight as complements can also be optional. Herbst et al. (2004:xxxi) make this distinction between optional and obligatory complements as well by noting how the meaning of *paint* in *Wallis repeatedly painted this house*, for example, does not significantly change in a sentence without the NP complement: *Wallis painted, as he said, simply to keep himself company*.

Another property that is pertinent to adjuncts in general is their capability to occur fairly freely, which means that the same adjunct can easily be a constituent in all kinds of different sentences (Herbst et al. 2004:xxiv). This factor does not apply to the more head-dependent complements (Schütze and Gibson 1999:411, with slight modification by V.P.):

- (4) John {died/sneezed/broke his arm/saw Fred/laughed at Bill} in the afternoon.
- (5) John {informed/*saw/*hit/*admired/*surprised} his friend of the danger.

This freedom of adjuncts also concerns their form, which is not determined by the matrix verb. As Huang (1997:75) puts it: “[p]redicates C-select their complements, not their adjuncts”. Thus, an NP adjunct for example, could most often be rephrased as a PP, S, Adv, etc., whereas the same kind of substitution is not as readily possible with complements¹³. Huddleston and Pullum (2002:215) refer to the same idea by noting that whereas complements are “more clearly differentiated in their syntactic properties”; adjuncts “tend to be differentiated primarily by their semantic properties”. From this it follows that sentence-internal positioning of adjuncts is also freer (Quirk et al. 1985:490). However, the mutual ordering of complements and adjuncts is fairly fixed, which means that the adjunct cannot normally be positioned

¹³ Consider, however, the complements of the verb *put*, for example, amongst which there is plenty of variation (Herbst et al. 2004:xxviii):

- (1) I put the paper and kindling there.
- (2) I put the paper and kindling onto the logs.
- (3) I put the paper and kindling where they belong.

between the head and its complement without affecting the stress pattern of the sentence or rendering the sentence ungrammatical (Schütze and Gibson 1999:426):

- (6) *While we were flying home, I gave the ring over Buffalo to my girlfriend.

There is also another possibly helpful test based on repositioning. This test is based on the finding that only adjunct-PPs can be preposed in front of an interrogative sentence: *On Tuesday, who drove to the store?* vs. **On the shelf, who put the book?* (Schütze and Gibson 1999:427). The last diagnostic test introduced here requires a more thorough reformulation of the sentence. In the test a proform is used to replace the complement selecting head. This so-called ‘do so’ test identifies the elements that *cannot* occur alongside the proforms ‘do so’, or ‘one’ as complements (Somers 1987:18, Schütze and Gibson 1999:426-427). Thus, according to Somers (ibid.), the unacceptability of the following illustrations confirms the complement status of the underlined elements:

- (7) * I live in Manchester and Jock does so in Salford.
 (8) * Pete bought a car for £200 and Kieran did so for £300.
 (9) * The news lasts for fifteen minutes and the Weather Report does so for five.

Despite the relatively sophisticated diagnostics in the analysis of complements and adjuncts, it is still perhaps worth quoting Somers (1987:8), who notes that “elements [i.e. their status as a complement or an adjunct] can only be described with respect to a particular verb”. And not only is the verb important, but also the context of the utterance can make a difference (Somers 1987:14, Herbst et al. 2004:xxxi-xxxii). Therefore, the obligatoriness or optionality of an element is at best “subject to gradience” (Herbst et al. 2004:xxxiii). In this study, the possible challenges in the categorization of elements into adjuncts and complements are acknowledged. Thus, the tests introduced in this section will be employed in the analysis of data, if found necessary.

3 The Meaning of *Forbear* in Dictionaries

In this chapter the focus is turned to the verb *forbear* and more specifically to its semantics. This section will discuss the meaning of *forbear* mostly with the help of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), but for comparison a few other dictionaries will also be consulted. In addition to the meaning of *forbear*, all the possible complement patterns found in the dictionary entries will be considered.

3.1. Oxford English Dictionary

By far the most extensive analysis of the meaning of the verb *forbear* is provided by the *OED*. The dictionary lists in its entry for the verb (s.v. *forbear* v.) nine main senses combined with subcategories. The over a thousand year history of the verb, which was already referred to in the introduction, is most likely one of the reasons for the many senses that the verb has developed – but also lost – so far. Indeed, many of the senses listed in the *OED* are labeled obsolete, and only five of the main senses and three of the sub-senses are still considered to be in use, yet most of them are labeled *rare*, as well.

In the present study with historical data, however, the obsolete senses cannot be left out from the analysis. The approach adopted here is to first briefly introduce all the senses provided by the *OED*, simply because information on *forbear* is most often scarce, and thus it is felt that it should not be overlooked. Only after that, the dates of the *OED* quotations will be considered to decide which the relevant senses for further analysis are.

The following table 1 lists all the different senses given in the *OED*. The illustrations of the different senses for the table were chosen, firstly, on the basis of different complement patterns, and, secondly, to illustrate the particular senses of the verb.

Table 1. *Forbear* in the *OED* (Symbol † stands for ‘obsolete’)

Senses of <i>forbear</i>	Illustrations	Complements
†1. <i>trans.</i> To bear, endure, submit to.	(1) c1386 <u>CHAUCER</u> I may not.. Forbere to ben out of your compaignie. (1.2) 1585 <u>T. WASHINGTON</u> Hunting..being an..occasion to use men..to forbear heate and cold.	TO-inf NP
†2. To bear with, have patience with, put up with, tolerate. (cf. sense 8).	(2) 1526-34 <u>TINDALE</u> Thou cannest not forbear them which are evyll. (2.2) 1742 <u>YOUNG</u> I then had wrote What friends might flatter: prudent foes forbear.	NP NP
†3. To bear up against, control (emotion or desire). Also <i>refl.</i> to control one's feelings. †b. <i>absol.</i> or <i>intr.</i> for <i>refl.</i>	(3) c1430 His sorow might not be forborn. (3b) c1300 Hi ne mi ³ te forbere nomore; And wope also pitousliche.	NP ZERO
†4. To endure the absence or privation of; to dispense with, do without, spare (a person or thing). †b. To give up, part with or from, lose. †c. To avoid, shun; to keep away from or keep from interfering with; to leave alone.	(4) 1667 <u>MILTON</u> Fruits..Whose taste, too long forborn, at first assay Gave elocution to the mute. (4b) 1590 <u>SPENSER</u> Whenas my wombe her burdein would forbear. (4c) 1673 <u>TEMPLE</u> The People in the Country forbear the Market.	NP NP NP
5. To abstain or refrain from (some action or procedure); to cease, desist from.	(5) 1552 <u>ABP. HAMILTON</u> Forbear the eting of swynis flesche. (5.2) 1655 <u>SIR E. NICHOLAS</u> I forebore pressing them further. (5.3) 1810 <u>SCOTT</u> Madman, forbear your frantic jar!	NP (Action Nom.) ING-form NP
6. <i>absol.</i> and <i>intr.</i> To abstain, refrain. Const. <i>to</i> (also † <i>but</i>) with <i>inf.</i> , also <i>from</i> , † <i>for</i> , † <i>of</i> . †b. <i>Naut.</i> (See quotes.)	(6) 1598 <u>R. GRENEWAY</u> The Dictator..forbare sometime for making any more [lawes]. (6.2) 1658 <u>W. BURTON</u> I cannot forbear but transcribe all of it hither. (6.3) 1676 <u>HOBBS</u> From War forbear. (6.4) a1745 <u>SWIFT</u> He commanded his soldiers to forbear. (6.5) 1787 <u>A. HILDITCH</u> De Beaufort, whom Strickland could not forbear of accusing of unwarrantable caprice. (6.6) 1841 <u>ELPHINSTONE</u> He would have incurred more blame..if he had forborne from attempting to recover them. (6.7) 1878 <u>B. TAYLOR</u> Forbear! The knowledge must be mine alone. (6.8) 1879 <u>M. ARNOLD</u> The lovers of Hampden cannot forbear to extol him at Falkland's expense. (6b) 1627 <u>CAPT. SMITH</u> Forbear is to hold still any oare you are commanded.	FOR-ing BUT-inf FROM-NP ZERO OF-ing FROM-ing ZERO TO-inf -
7. <i>trans.</i> To refrain from using, uttering, mentioning, etc.; to withhold, keep back. †Formerly const. <i>from</i> , <i>to</i> , or <i>dat</i> .	(7) 1580 <u>TUSSER</u> The west [wind] to all flowers may not be forborne. (7.1) a1619 <u>M. FOTHERBY</u> Wee are forced to forbear the strongest of our Authorities. (7.2) 1676 <u>HOBBS</u> Hold then. Your sword forbear. (7.3) 1725 <u>POPE</u> Forbear that dear, disastrous name.	NP NP NP NP

b. refl. To restrain oneself, refrain. <i>rare.</i>	(7.4) 1884 RUSKIN Gibbon..might have forborne, with grace, his own definition of orthodoxy. (7b) 1852 C. M. YONGE If it be so, forbear thyself to fight. (7.1b) 1865 MERIVALE I forbear myself from entering the lists.	NP refl.+TO-inf refl.+FROM-ing
8. To abstain from injuring, punishing, or giving way to resentment against (a person or thing); to spare, show mercy or indulgence to. Now <i>rare</i> . Cf. sense 2, to which this closely approaches. †b. Const. <i>of</i> (a thing). c. intr. (or <i>absol.</i>) To be patient or forbearing; to show forbearance. Const. <i>with</i> . The proverbial phrase <i>to bear and forbear</i> , now taken in this sense, was orig. <i>trans.</i> [...]	(8) 1665 Sir T. Roe's Voy. That scruple they make in forbearing the lives of the Creatures made for men's use. (8.1) 1887 BOWEN Ah, may the splinters icy thy delicate feet forbear! (8b) 1529 MORE He would pray God forbear him of the remenaunt. (8c) 1782 COWPER The kindest and the happiest pair Will find occasion to forbear. (8.1c) 1826 E. IRVING He forbore with Austria. (8.2c) 1842 TENNYSON Some..Bore and forbore; and did not tire.	NP NP NP-OF-NP ZERO WITH-NP ZERO (Proverb)
9. trans. To refrain from enforcing, pressing, or demanding; not to urge, press, insist on, or exact. Sometimes with double obj. Now <i>rare</i> . † Also <i>intr.</i> with <i>of</i> . b. esp. To abstain from enforcing the payment of (money) after it has become due. Now <i>rare</i> .	(9) 1570 ABP. PARKER I am driven to forbear of my ancient rights. (9.1) 1583 WHITGIFT Desiring your Lordships..to forbear my comming thither. (9.3) 1649 EVELYN I desire you to forbear my reasons, till the next return. (9.4) 1858 CARLYLE And the Corpus-Christi idolatries were forborne the Margraf and his company this time. (9b) 1664 W. HAIG I can have a friend here that will..forbear it [money] a year and a half. (9.1b) 1856 BOUVIER When the creditor agrees to forbear with his debtor.	OF-NP ING-form (Poss Ing) NP NP-NP NP ZERO

In the analysis of the relevant senses, the year 1600 was decided on as a boundary marker. Therefore, if the latest illustration of a particular sense in the *OED* dates back to earlier than the 17th century, the sense was disregarded¹⁴.

Some of the senses were also felt to be rather similar. Therefore, senses 5 and 6, which both have a somewhat broad, general meaning and which both allow sentential complements were grouped together under one sense. Also, sense 7b, being semantically rather similar to senses 5 and 6, and subcategorizing

¹⁴ The *OED* senses 1. (1585), 3. (1430), 3b. (c1300), 4b. (1590) and 8b. (1529) were, therefore, analyzed as irrelevant to this study.

for (reflexive pronoun +) sentential complements, was added to the same group (i.e. group D:Refrain). In a similar vein, senses 2 and 8 were combined, as the semantic similarity is even suggested by the *OED*. Their complement patterns are also congruent as both senses select NP complements. The relevant sub-sense 8.c., with the proverbial phrase *bear and forbear*, was likewise included in this sense (i.e. group A:Tolerate). By analyzing the senses in the manner described above the following six sense groups were formed:

- (A) TOLERATE: to have patience with, tolerate, to abstain from injuring, punishing, or giving way to resentment against (a person or thing); to spare, to show forbearance.
- (B) DO WITHOUT: to endure the absence or privation of; to dispense with, do without.
- (C) AVOID: to shun; to keep away from, or keep from interfering with, to leave alone.
- (D) REFRAIN: to abstain or refrain from (some action or procedure); to cease, desist from.
- (E) WITHHOLD: to refrain from using, uttering, mentioning, etc.; to withhold, keep back.
- (F) NOT TO URGE: to refrain from enforcing, pressing, or demanding; not to urge, insist on, or exact (also payment of money).

As concerns the sense groups, one interesting point bears mention. Consider the following *OED* quotations illustrating sense [E:Withhold]:

- (7.1) a1619 M. FOTHERBY Wee are forced to forbear the strongest of our Authorities.
- (7.2) 1676 HOBBS Hold then. Your sword forbear.
- (7.3) 1725 POPE Forbear that dear, disastrous name.
- (7.4) 1884 RUSKIN Gibbon..might have forborne, with grace, his own definition of orthodoxy.

In each of the quotations above, there is an NP complement, but the meaning of *forbear* differs. In quotations (7.1) and (7.2), one could easily rephrase *forbear* as *keep back* or *withhold*, which would be in accordance with sense [E:Withhold]. Considering (7.3) and (7.4), however, the meaning of *forbear* seems to carry - in addition to the negative implicative element - an act of speaking. To illustrate the point, here are the two sentences paraphrased: *Forbear uttering that dear name / Gibbon might have forborne giving/mentioning his own definition of orthodoxy*. The paraphrases with the *-ing* complements, however, change the meaning of *forbear*, which becomes closer to the broader sense [D], i.e. ‘to abstain or refrain from something’. The more specific sense of ‘refraining from uttering, mentioning etc.’ thus

seems to be confined to NP complements, and more specifically, if (7.2) and (7.3) are compared, to certain types of NPs referring to acts of speaking.

This type of phenomenon where the verbal constituent can be left out, but its sense still inferred from the overall structure has been studied in lexical semantics under the notion of *coercion*. Pustejovsky and Bouillon (1996:135) have studied aspectual verbs such as *begin* and *finish*, which like *forbear*, select both sentential and NP complements and exhibit coercion:

- (1) a. John began to read the book. (VP[+INF])
- b. John began reading the book. (VP[+PRG])
- c. John began the book. (NP)

In (1a-c), a similar *type changing* process (*coercion*) is found as affects *forbear*. According to Pustejovsky and Bouillon, in (1c) the NP *book* is “coerced to the appropriate type required by its governing verb, in this case an event” (ibid.). The event can either be that of *writing* or *reading* a book, but it is interesting to note that as a result of coercion, Pustejovsky and Bouillon consider not the meaning of the verb (here; *begin*), but that of the NP to extend (1996:135-6). Dixon (2005:99), on the other hand, would interpret (1c) as having an “underlying complement clause”, which in certain contexts can be left out. The context is dependent on the information shared by the addresser and the addressee, although there are certain complements that are more readily omitted than others (ibid.).

In addition to aspectuals, Dixon (2005:99-100) also considers other groups of verbs that allow for the omission of the sentential complement clause. With verbs of POSTPONING he lists, for example, *postpone*, *delay*, *defer* and *avoid* – some of which could provide a semantic link to *forbear* as well (Dixon 2005:195). As for the object NP that is left behind, Dixon (ibid.) notes that with these verbs it often depicts either an ACTIVITY or a SPEECH ACT:

- (2) The question was avoided.

In (2), the sentence is passivized, but the active version: *They avoided (asking/discussing) the question*, reveals a resemblance to *forbear*. This aspect in the meaning of *forbear* provides an interesting setting for the analysis part of this study. As for terminology, I will use the term *understood meaning of forbear*, which although implying an extension in the meaning of the *verb*, is apt to describe the phenomenon.

3.2 Forbear in Other Dictionaries

The senses formulated above may now be tested against other dictionaries to see if the analysis is congruent and extensive enough to capture at least most of the possible meanings of *forbear*. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (RHD)* lists five senses for *forbear*, which it divides under transitive and intransitive uses. The transitive uses are:

- (1) to refrain or abstain from; desist from
- (2) to keep back; withhold
- (3) to endure, *obsolete*

The first two senses clearly correspond to the *OED*-based senses [D:Refrain] and [E:Withhold], respectively. The third sense ‘to endure’ appears to refer to the *OED* sense 1., which was disregarded from the meaning analysis based on the dates of the illustrations. The two intransitive uses listed are:

- (4) to refrain; hold back
- (5) to be patient or self-controlled when subject to annoyance or provocation

It seems that the former sense can be grouped under the general sense [D:Refrain] and that the latter is a paraphrase of [A:Tolerate]. Unfortunately, *RHD* does not include any illustrations or quotations in its entry for *forbear*, thus making it difficult to further analyze the different senses. As concerns the understood meaning of *forbear*, the *RHD* does not provide more information on it either.

The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language (NWED) also divides the senses of *forbear* under transitive and intransitive uses, but does not further separate different senses by

numbering them. The intransitive senses (*NWED*, *s.v. forbear v.*): ‘to cease’, ‘to refrain from proceeding’, ‘to pause’, ‘to delay’, ‘to be patient’ and ‘to restrain one’s self from action or violence’, are, however, similar to the ones listed in the *RHD* – perhaps with the exception of the senses ‘to pause’ and ‘to delay’, which seem to imply that the action would continue at some point. These senses seem somewhat counterintuitive when considered against the negative implicativity of *forbear*.

The transitive uses on the other hand: ‘to avoid voluntarily’, ‘to abstain from’, ‘to omit’, ‘to avoid doing’ and ‘to treat with indulgence’, seem to correspond more with the senses [C:Avoid], and depending on the interpretation of ‘treating with indulgence’ senses [A:Tolerate] or [F:Not to urge] could also be appropriate (*RHD*, *s.v. forbear v.*). Again, the lack of illustrations hinders the analysis of the understood meanings of *forbear*, although it is worth noting that no specific reference to refraining from *saying* or *uttering* something is made.

The third dictionary consulted, the *New Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus (NCDT)* lists only three different senses for *forbear*: ‘to cease’, ‘to refrain from (doing something)’ and ‘to tolerate (misbehavior, etc.)’. The last mentioned sense is considered archaic. Although the entry does not provide anything new from the point of view of semantics, it is the first one to comment on the complementation of *forbear*: “when intr., often foll. by *from* or an infinitive.” (*NCDT*, *s.v. forbear v.*). Interestingly, the *-ing* form complement is not mentioned at all.

Although the senses in the three dictionaries have so far linked fairly conveniently with the *OED* meanings, it should be noted that sometimes it is difficult to decide whether there is indeed a new sense in the dictionary entry or whether the dictionary compilers have merely found a novel way of rephrasing a meaning. The difficulty can be illustrated with the thesaurus entry (*s.v. forbear v.*) from the *NCDT*, which lists many of the same expressions found in the dictionary entries as possible synonyms for

forbear: “abstain, avoid, cease, decline, desist, eschew, hold back, keep from, omit, pause, refrain, resist the temptation to, restrain oneself, stop [and] withhold”.

In order to help decide which sense of the verb is in question, it might prove useful to take into account the complementation patterns found under each sense. Thus, the question of pattern-meaning connection becomes relevant.

3.3 Complementation Patterns of *Forbear*

This section concentrates on the complement patterns found in the *OED* which, compared to the other dictionaries consulted, clearly offers the most extensive material for such analysis.

All the complement patterns found in the *OED* were listed in table 1. In table 2 below, the patterns found in quotations from 1600 and onwards are grouped under the relevant sense groups [A–F]. The results are presented in subcategorization frames:

Table 2. Complement patterns of *forbear* based on the *OED* quotations:

(A) TOLERATE:	V, [–NP] [–With-NP] [–ZERO]
(B) DO WITHOUT:	V, [–NP]
(C) AVOID:	V, [–NP]
(D) REFRAIN:	V, [–NP] [–From-NP] [–Ing-form] [–From-Ing] [–Of-Ing] [–To-inf] [–But-inf] [–refl.-From-Ing] [–refl.-To-inf] [– ZERO]
(E) WITHHOLD:	V, [–NP]
(F) NOT TO URGE:	V, [–NP] [–NP-NP] [–ZERO]

The NP complement is obviously a very versatile complement type as it occurs in every sense group. There are at least two direct consequences of this. Firstly, the occurrence of the NP in each sense group makes it more difficult to draw the line between transitivity and intransitivity, as was done in *RHD* and *NWED*. Secondly, the fact that the NP can in theory render any of the different senses of the verb leaves

the interpretation of the specific meaning of the *forbear* + NP pattern to the reader/hearer. The overall context of the sentence and the content of the complement NP thus become important in the analysis since they determine which meaning of *forbear* is in question in each case.

The ZERO complement seems possible only with three senses. The illustrations (8c), (6.7) and (9.1) with the ZERO complement in table 1 are reproduced here for convenience and correspond to the senses [A:Tolerate], [D:Refrain] and [F:Not to urge], respectively:

- (8c) 1782 COWPER The kindest and the happiest pair Will find occasion to forbear.
- (6.7) 1878 B. TAYLOR Forbear! The knowledge must be mine alone.
- (9.1b) 1856 BOUVIER When the creditor agrees to forbear with his debtor.

In these quotations the differences in meaning are fairly easy to discern, but in the analysis of the ZERO complement tokens it is likely that – as with NP complements – attention needs to be paid to the context of the utterance. For example, in exclamations such as in (6.7), it is the context that determines whether the addresser is asking addressee to cease the action they are involved in, or to refrain from the one they are considering; or, whether they are asking the addressee to show forbearance, and to be tolerant. The former would imply sense [D:Refrain] and the latter sense [A:Tolerate]. The context will also hopefully reveal whether tolerance is needed in connection to financial affairs, which would refer to sense [F:Not to urge].

The fact that the sentential complements, the *to*-infinitive and the *-ing* form are restricted to the somewhat broad sense [D:Refrain] seems plausible since the sentential complement denotes the action which one refrains from. Therefore, rather than consider only the actual verb tokens and their semantics, it might bear more fruit to consider the actions and semantics of the *lower* clauses as well to see what kinds of actions are most often refrained from.

4 Forbear in Grammars and Other Literature

In the following chapter the discussion on the complementation of *forbear* is continued with the help of grammars and other relevant literature.

Four renowned grammars of English were consulted to see whether they would consider *forbear* in connection to verb complementation. Quirk et al. (1985:109) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1610) mention the verb only in a chapter listing irregular verbs. Biber et al. (1999) do not list the verb in any category. On the other hand, near-synonyms such as *abstain* and *refrain* are listed, for example by Huddleston & Pullum (2002:656-7), with verbs of abstention that select complement patterns beginning with the preposition *from*. Abstention refers to ‘holding oneself back from some action’ (ibid.), and is thus congruent with the meaning of *forbear*. Indeed, the preposition *from* is a possible complement onset for *forbear* (cf. table 2).

The fourth grammar consulted is a somewhat older work by Poutsma (1904-24). Poutsma (1904-24:623) presents *forbear* in an entry that lists verbs taking both *-ing* forms and *to*-infinitives. The pattern with *from* is also mentioned in the entry, with a side note that the prepositional variant does not semantically differ from the other two sentential structures (ibid.).

As concerns the complementation of *forbear*, Poutsma (1904-24:623) makes an interesting observation by noting a connection between the *-ing* form and the structure *cannot / could not* preceding the verb. This connection has been noted by other linguists as well. Both Rudanko (2000:125-6) and Fanego (1996:52) note the importance of the environment in the complement selection of *forbear*, claiming that when either *cannot* or *could not* precedes the verb, there is a strong preference for the *-ing* form complement. Fanego (1996:44) notes that a possible model for the pattern may have come from the verb *help*, which has throughout its history only subcategorized for the *-ing* form when preceded by the *cannot / could not* environment. Be that as it may, by the beginning of the 18th century, the *cannot /*

could not environment had become so common with *forbear* as well that Fanego (1996:52) talks of “idiomatic use” with the verb. Rudanko (2000:126) also mentions “other negative environments”, such as *can / could / hardly / scarcely forbear*, which also prefer the *-ing* form.

Fanego (1996:44) bases her findings on historical data from the period 1640-1760 and Rudanko (2000:109) on material from around 1700 onwards, which would imply that the structure is likely to occur in the data at hand, as well. The *cannot/could not* environment is, therefore, one of the variables examined in this study, and it will be of great interest to see what kind of effect the environment has on a different set of British English data, and on American English.

5 Factors Bearing on Complementation

In the following chapter, factors influencing complement selection of verbs will be discussed further. The *cannot/could not* environment, which has been referred to as a “micro-semantic context factor”, was already discussed in chapter 4 (Vosberg 2003b:198). ‘Extra-semantic factor’, on the other hand, is a term used to refer to insertions, extractions and to the *horror aequi*-phenomenon, which are all, as will be shown in this chapter, motivated by the Complexity Principle (Vosberg 2003a:305, 2003b:198).

5.1 The Complexity Principle

The Complexity Principle was introduced by Günter Rohdenburg (1996:151), who was influenced by John Hawkins’ work (1990, 1992, as reported in Rohdenburg 1996:150) on processing complexity:

In the case of more or less explicit grammatical options the more explicit one(s) will tend to be favored in cognitively more complex environments

As concerns the *more explicit* grammatical options, Rohdenburg (1996:152) offers a simple rule of thumb: “the more explicit variant is generally represented by the bulkier element or construction”. The rule is helpful to an extent, but is not necessarily sufficient to explain the difference in explicitness between the *-ing* form and the *to*-infinitive, which is crucial in the current study. In fact, the explanation for the difference lies in the historical development of the two sentential constructions that was already discussed in section 2.1.1. As Vosberg (2003b:211) formulates it: “[c]ompared to the well-known infinitive as the basic form of a verb, the *-ing* form, deriving from a noun, is less suited for making the sentential status explicit”. Applying the Complexity Principle to sentential complements, it thus has been proposed that in certain cognitively more complex environments, sententiality of the verb complement has an effect on the intelligibility of the sentence. The less sentential *-ing* form is considered to

complicate the processing of the sentence and the more sentential *to*-infinitive to facilitate it. It has also been stated that the more explicit variant is often the more formal option as well (Rohdenburg 1996:173).

The concept of “cognitively more complex environments” refers, among others, to the three environments of extractions, insertions and *horror aequi* that in different ways challenge a straightforward processing of a sentence.

5.2 Extractions

‘Extraction’ is a term that originates from transformational grammar and refers to “deviations from the canonical sentence structure” (Vosberg 2003b:201). The extraction principle defines the relation of extractions to sentential complements:

In the case of infinitival or gerundial complement options, the infinitive will tend to be favoured in environments where a complement of the subordinate clause is extracted (by topicalization, relativization, comparativization, or interrogation etc.) from its original position and crosses clause boundaries. (Vosberg 2003a:308)

The principle lists some of the more specific extraction environments, such as relativization. A more detailed treatment of different extraction environments can be found in Postal (1994:162), but since his work does not directly link to extractions out of subordinate clauses, it is felt that Vosberg’s (2003b:201-2, based on Postal 1994) presentation of the relevant extraction types is sufficient:

- a. TOPICALIZATION: even her acquaintance with the Belfied’_{s_i} she remembered [not ever mentioning _{t_i}] (Fanny Burney, *Cecilia* 1782)
- b. RELATIVIZATION: it is the worthy Spencer_i, whom_i I’m sure you remember [*to have often heard* [me mention _{t_i} in the relation of my private misfortunes]] (John Dauncey, *The English Lovers*, 1622)
- c. CLEFTING: It was the bangle_i that she remembered [*having seen* _{t_i} on Francie’s wrist] (Edith Ænone Sommerville, *The Real Charlotte*, 1894)
- d. COMPARATIVIZATION: ‘Twas her Charming Face and modest Look, that represented to him a thousand more Beauties and taking Graces_i, than he remembered ever [*to have seen* _{t_i} in his Unconstant and Faithless Mistress] (Philip Ayres, *The Revengeful Mistress*, 1696)

- e. INTERROGATION: Now, how many_i do you remember [*to have heard named t_i*]?
(Sabine Baring-Gould, *In the Roar of the Sea*, 1892)
- f. Other types: PSEUDO-CLEFTING, NEGATIVE NP EXTRACTION, EXCLAMATORY EXTRACTION.

As seen above, the complement of the subordinate clause has been moved to the left and has crossed a clause boundary (as indicated by the lower index _i), leaving behind a trace, i.e. the standard position of the extracted element (index *t_i*). The longer the distance between the position of the extracted element and its standard position (“filler-gap domain”) the more difficult the extraction is to process (Vosberg 2003a:307). It is also worth noting that not only complements, but also adjuncts can be extracted (Rudanko 2006:43).

Due to the preference of *to*-infinitives in these environments, a claim has been made that “the establishment of *-ing* complements must have been substantially delayed in contexts involving various kinds of extractions” (Vosberg 2003a:308). The impact of extractions on complementation is, therefore, directly linked to the Great Complement Shift by acting as a counterforce to it.

5.4 Structural Discontinuity – Insertions

Rohdenburg’s (1995:368, emphasis V.P.) earlier definition of the complexity principle, although afterwards revised, is apt to express the rationale behind insertions:

The less directly the dependent clause is linked to its superordinate clause, or the more complex the dependent clause turns out to be, the greater is the need to make its sentential status more explicit.

The italicized part of the definition proposes that any intervening material that separates the superordinate clause and its complement constitutes a factor causing cognitive complexity. The length of this material, i.e. insertion, and its syntactic form have an effect on the overall complexity of the sentence, so that longer and syntactically more complicated insertions involve higher complexity (Vosberg 2009:218).

Again, in this more complex environment, the *-ing* form complement is not as likely to occur, but the more sentential *to*-infinitive (or *that*-clause) is preferred (Vosberg 2003b:212-13). The consequence of this is the same as with extractions; the governing verbs in insertion environments have been shown to preserve the *to*-infinitive, thus impeding the spread of the *-ing* form (ibid.).

5.3 The Fear of Symmetry – The *Horror Aequi* Principle

The *horror aequi* principle has been defined as “the widespread (and presumably universal) tendency to avoid the repetition of identical and adjacent grammatical element or structures” (Rohdenburg 2003:205). The complexity behind these constructions has been explained through the brain’s “preference for alternations on different levels of the language system” (Schlüter 2005:293). Although the implications of *horror aequi* can be witnessed in connection to various patterns in English, here the focus is on two specific instances. An often noted example is the so called ‘double *-ing* constraint’ that stands for the avoidance of two successive *-ing* form elements; i.e. if the governing item is in the *-ing* form, the favoured form of the complement is the *to*-infinitive (Vosberg 2003a:315).

Another important *horror aequi* restriction is the avoidance of two successive *to*-infinitives. A matrix verb in the *to*-infinitive has been shown to favour an *-ing* form complement, and therefore it can be seen as an environment facilitating the diffusion of the *-ing* in the historical context (Vosberg 2003a:322, Rohdenburg 2003:205). Rather interestingly, Vosberg (2003a:320) has suggested that NP complements could also be considered an “indirect avoidance strategy” of euphony when the matrix verb is in the *to*-infinitive form. Overall, however, the avoidance of two adjacent *to*-infinitives is not regarded as strong a factor as the double *-ing* constraint (Leech et al. 2009:188; Vosberg 2009:222).

6 Methodology and Research Questions

The study at hand is a necessary combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of research. As we are dealing with corpus data some conclusions based on the amounts of data will be indispensable. However, since the analysis cannot solely rely on figures, the data will also be considered in an in-depth fashion.

The purpose of the following chapter is to first briefly define some key concepts pertaining to the methodology of corpus linguistics and continue on explaining the specific data collection procedures of the present study. Information on the make-ups of the corpora is also provided. The chapter concludes with a list of the more specific research questions for this study.

6.1 Concepts Relating to Corpus Research

When retrieving data from an electronic corpus, defining the most suitable search-string is the starting point. A well-designed search-string will, in an ideal situation, retrieve the most suitable range of tokens, that is, all the desired tokens and nothing but the desired tokens. To assess the “retrieval effectiveness” of a search-string the concepts *recall* and *precision* are, therefore, of use (Ball 1994:295). In this study, recall was given prominence over the precision of the search due to the rarity of *forbear*. After each search, irrelevant tokens were simply manually removed from the data.

As the study involves comparison of data from different (sub-)corpora of different sizes, some adjustments are required in order to reliably compare the findings from each. This is done by presenting the search results as *normalized frequencies*, in addition to raw figures. The ratio used in this study is tokens per million words (pmw).

As for the studied factors that affect complementation, the *cannot/could not* environment is tested for statistical significance. Significance is tested with the *chi-square test*, which is an often used tool in corpus linguistics due to its applicability to corpus data, which often is not ‘normally distributed’ (McEnery and Wilson 2001:84). Also, the disparity in the comparison of two corpora of different sizes does not affect the result of the test (ibid.).

The chi-square test is based on the comparison of expected and actual frequencies (Schlüter 2005:58, McEnery and Wilson 2001:84-85), and in this study it is calculated by using an online service provided by Vassar College in New York. The actual frequencies, i.e. the observed occurrences in the data, are analyzed¹⁵, counted and entered into the contingency table of the online calculator, which then provides both the chi-square value (χ^2) and the statistical value p ¹⁶, which is the *probability* of the variable to be a result of mere chance. Values of p that are lower than 0.05 are considered statistically significant ($\chi^2 \geq 3.84$). Other boundary markers are $p \leq 0.01$, or $\chi^2 \geq 6.64$, which indicates ‘high significance’ and $p \leq 0.001$; or $\chi^2 \geq 10.83$, which is a result for ‘very high significance’ (Schlüter 2005:58; χ^2 values apply with $df=1$, cf. Oakes 1998:266).

6.2 Corpora and Search Procedures

6.2.1 The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Extended Version)

The CLMET(EV) is a historical corpus based on text archives that are freely available online: Project Gutenberg, The Oxford Text Archive and Victorian Women Writers Project (De Smet 2009 CLMETEV). The untagged corpus is divided into three parts each covering a seventy-year period, with the first part

¹⁵ That is, the tokens that are also affected by other factors influencing complementation are disregarded.

¹⁶ In the Vassar College calculator the result is corrected for continuity, i.e. the Yates’s correction is applied. The Yates’s correction is preferred in 2x2 tables (Oakes 1998:25), which is also the type used in this study (with $df=1$).

(1710-1780) consisting of 3 million words and the second (1780-1850) of 5.7 million words. For the third part (1850-1920), however, the newest, extended version of the corpus was used (CLMET3.0) due to a low count of tokens in the CLMETEV. The third part of the CLMET3.0 is, indeed, significantly larger with 12.6 million words. The size of the 3rd part is also reflected in the number of contributing authors, which for each period is 23, 46 and 91, respectively (De Smet 2009 CLMET3.0).

Even though the CLMETEV cannot necessarily claim to be a ‘balanced’ representation of Late Modern English, in the sense that it is not “maximally representative of the language variety under consideration” (McEnery and Wilson 2001:32), attention was paid to the corpus make-up in the compilation process. The texts, for example, are all by native British authors and the limit of each contributing author is set to 200,000 words (De Smet 2005:71-2). Also, the gender and age of the authors have been taken into consideration (ibid.). Despite these measures, however, De Smet acknowledges the fact that there still remains a bias towards “literary texts¹⁷ written by higher class male adults” (ibid.). Therefore, in the analysis of the CLMET(EV) material, the possibility of slanted data will be borne in mind. This means, for example, that the dispersion of tokens amongst the different authors will be considered, as it affects the representativeness of data and the probability of writer idiosyncrasies (Gries 2006:8, De Smet 2005:71).

Although the CLMET3.0 is tagged for part-of-speech, the decision was made to use search-strings that simply consist of the inflections of the verb *forbear* for every sub-corpus. The problem with precision, especially in connection to the noun *forbear* and its plural form and the adjective *forbearing*, was thus solved manually despite its time-consuming nature. Certain spelling-variants and typographer’s errors (*forborn/forborne* and *fore-* instead of *for-*) were also tested and incorporated into the analysis.

¹⁷ The CLMETEV includes texts from different genres, but formal prose clearly prevails (De Smet 2009 CLMETEV). The only genre restriction in the current study is that texts written in verse are disregarded, because it is believed that the restrictions on the rhythm of poetic language might affect the way the verb is used.

6.2.3 Corpus of Historical American English

Historical American English was studied with the help of COHA, which consists of around 400 million words and covers the period from 1810 to 2009 (COHA interface). The texts in COHA have been divided into four genres including *fiction*, *newspaper*, *magazine* and *other non-fiction* (ibid.). Fortunately, as the corpus is so large, it was possible to select the most suitable text-type, fiction¹⁸, and thus improve the correspondence of the search to the British English data. The time of publication was also adapted to BritE, and more specifically to the CLMET3.3, so that only texts from the period 1850-1920 were searched for tokens. The resulting sub-corpus consists of 75,230,000 words.

The search-string for each decade was [forbear].[v*], which should retrieve all the verb forms. This time, however, poor recall turned out to be a problem, as the search did not yield any tokens of the inflectional form *forborne*, which then had to be searched for separately. The search required a fair amount of manual work in other respects as well, since some of the automatic search options provided by the COHA interface are not available for undergraduates.

6.3 Research Questions

The more precise research questions of this study are formulated below:

- (1) What is the role of the micro-semantic (the *cannot* / *could not* environment) and extra-semantic (insertions, *horror aequi* and extractions) factors in the complement selection of *forbear*?
- (2) Is there any explanation for the connection between the *cannot* / *could not* environment and the *-ing* form?
- (3) What is the role of the understood meaning of *forbear* in the data?
- (4) Is the *OED* based meaning analysis accurate? Are specific senses tied to specific complement patterns, i.e. is there meaning-pattern correspondence?
- (5) Can any differences be detected between British and American English?

¹⁸ Over half of the texts in the CLMET3.0 are narrative fiction (De Smet 2009 CLMET3.0). Tokens found in poems were disregarded from the COHA data as well.

- (6) How does the Great Complement Shift manifest itself in the data? Are there other changes in time?

These questions will guide the analysis of the corpus data in the following chapters and will hopefully be answered later on in the discussion of the findings of this study.

7 Analysis of the CLMET(EV) data

7.1 First part: 1710-1780

The search in the first part of the CLMETEV retrieved altogether 135 tokens, out of which 131 were analyzed as relevant¹⁹. There were two tokens in which *forbear* was used as a proverb. The proverbial tokens are of interest, but will be discussed separately and are not included in table 3.

As concerns the ability of the CLMETEV material to project the English of its time, it should be noted that out of the total of twenty-three contributing authors in the first part, the data includes tokens from only sixteen. Also, over half of the tokens (50.7%) come from the texts of only three authors, namely David Hume (25 tokens), Samuel Richardson (20 tokens) and Samuel Johnson (23 tokens).

The seven different patterns that came up in the search are presented in table 3:

Table 3. Complement patterns in the CLMETEV – 1710-1780

Inflection / Complement	Forbear	Forbore	Forborne	Forbearing	Σ	%	NF
<i>Ing</i> form	57	4	1	-	62	48	21
<i>To-inf.</i>	26	5	1	1	33	25	11
Nom. rel. cl.	1	1	-	-	2	1.5	.7
NP	14	3	1	2	20	16	7
NP-to-NP	1	-	-	-	1	.8	.3
From-NP	1	-	-	-	1	.8	.3
∅	9	-	-	1	10	8	3
Σ	109	13	3	4	129	100	43

A quick initial finding based on the table is that no singular 3rd person present tense forms of *forbear* were found, whereas the basic verb form was by far the most frequent inflection. This might be explained

¹⁹ Irrelevant tokens included three verb tokens from *The Lives of the Poets* by Theophilus Cibber (excerpts from older texts) and one noun token.

by the fact that *forbear* is often used in imperatives and very frequently with some (modal) auxiliary (59 % of all the tokens). It is also noteworthy that the *-ing* form complement covers almost half of the tokens.

7.1.1 NP, PP and Zero Complements in CLMETEV-1

Out of the two instances of the proverbial phrase ‘bear and forbear’, one turned out rather interesting:

- (1) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: Mrs. Jervis, said he, take the little witch from me; I can neither bear, nor forbear her--(Strange words these!)--But stay; you shan't go!--Yet begone!

According to the *OED* (cf. table 1, sense 8c), the transitive use of the proverbial phrase is no longer found in English and the latest illustration of the use dates back to 1340 (s.v. *forbear* v. sense 2). In (1), nevertheless, the NP complement is found - although the parenthesis in the excerpt does seem to comment on the unconventional usage.

In general, NP complements were not very common in the data and only constituted 16% of the tokens. Only one PP complement was found with the preposition *from*:

- (2) **Chesterfield** 1746-71 – *Letters to his Son on the Art*: Forbear from any national jokes or reflections, which are always improper, and commonly unjust.

From a semantic point of view the NP complements were, nevertheless, rather interesting. In nine tokens, the NP referred to something that can be ‘said’, ‘talked about’ or ‘uttered’. This can be seen in (2) above, and in the following illustrations:

- (3) **Hume** 1779 – *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*: ... I am equally entitled to ask him the cause of his great reasoning principle. These questions we have agreed to forbear on both sides; and it is chiefly his interest on the present occasion to stick to this agreement.
 (4) **Goldsmith** 1766 – *The Vicar of Wakefield*: ...the good-natured girl let fall a tear at this account; but as I saw her possessed of too much sensibility, I forbore a more minute detail of our sufferings.

These tokens clearly belong to the sense group [E] of ‘withholding from uttering, mentioning or using something’ and are therefore examples of the understood meaning of *forbear*. Indeed, a sentential

complement could replace the NPs: *We have agreed to forbear asking these questions / I forbore to utter a more minute detail of our sufferings*. Especially the token in (3) nicely points out the similarity between *forbear* and the verbs of ‘postponing’ analyzed by Dixon (2005:195) (cf. section 3.1).

In four tokens, all of which were by Hume, the NP was *any action*, and the meaning of *forbear*, hence, was the basic [D:Refrain]. One last “sense cluster” was found with four NPs that all referred to emotions and feelings, or to their expression:

- (5) **Johnson** 1740-1 – *Parliamentary Debates*: Who can forbear, sir, some degree of sympathy, when he sees animals like these taking their last farewell of the maid...
- (6) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: But while I see you here, pray don’t put on those dismal grave looks: Why, girl, you should forbear them, if it were but for your pride-sake....

Although the meaning of *forbear* in these contexts can be analyzed as the general meaning of ‘refraining from something’, it is interesting to note that the *OED* sense 3 (cf. table 1), which was disregarded from the sense analysis based on the dates of the quotations, also has a more specific reference to the controlling of one’s emotions and desires.

As concerns the ZERO complements, half of them (5 tokens) were used in commands and three in formations that paraphrased the use of a command or plea (reported speech):

- (7) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: ...Dear aunt, forgive me, but I must kiss her; and was coming to me. And I said, Forbear, uncivil gentleman! I won’t be used freely.
- (8) **Fielding** 1749 – *Tom Jones*: Jones asked no questions at this interval, but fell instantly upon the villain, [...] nor did he cease the prosecution of his blows till the woman herself begged him to forbear, saying, she believed he had sufficiently done his business.

With all of the imperatives it was possible to discern the actual meaning of *forbear* with the help of the context. For example in (7), the command could be *Forbear to approach me!*; a paraphrase which would agree with the initial analysis made in section 3.3, where the overall meaning of *forbear* in imperatives was considered to be *Stop [the action you are performing / about to perform]!* (sense [D:Refrain]). In (8), on the other hand, the meaning of *forbear* is congruent with sense [A:Tolerate], and more specifically with the idea of ‘abstaining from injuring or punishing’. This sense is peculiar as it can be rephrased with

a sentential complement; *begged him to forbear beating him*, and in that respect differs from the analysis presented in section 3.3 where only the paraphrases *be tolerant* and *show forbearance* were suggested for sense [A:Tolerate]. This difference, in fact, reflects the division made in the *OED* between senses 2 and 8 (s.v. *forbear* v.), which were combined for this study.

7.1.2 Sentential Complements in CLMETEV-1

Sentential complements prevail in the data. Together they (*-ing* forms, *to*-infinitives and nominal relative clauses) constitute 75% of all the complement types found in the first part of the corpus. What is more, the *-ing* form (48%) clearly predominates over the *to*-infinitive (25%), which suggests that the change predicted by the Great Complement Shift is well on its way in the 18th century British English, at least as regards *forbear*.

What other factors, then, might account for the observed frequencies of the two competing complements? Insertions were, unfortunately, rare in the data, and only four tokens with sentential complements were found. In two instances, the insertion was only one word and the complement was the *-ing* form. The other two tokens with longer insertions had the *to*-infinitive:

- (1) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: For this, sir, awakened all my reverence for you; and you saw I could not forbear, not knowing what I did, to break boldly in upon you, and acknowledge your goodness on my knees.
- (2) **Cibber** 1753 – *The Lives of the Poets*: 'My Lord, I think I should be wanting to myself at this time, in my own necessary vindication, should I forbear any longer to give my friends a true account of my behaviour in the late ecclesiastical commission.

The results, although necessarily inconclusive as based on only four tokens, seem to be in accordance with the principle behind structural discontinuity: the longer insertions seem to require the *to*-infinitive, whereas the shorter one-word insertions allow for the *-ing* form to occur. The occurrence of the *cannot/could not* environment in three of the tokens, however, renders this weak conclusion even more

unsatisfactory. Thus it seems that the only token in which the insertion clearly has made a difference is the one illustrated in (1) where it overrides the effect of the *cannot/could not* environment.

The *horror aequi* principle was analyzed in connection to the forms *to forbear* and *forbearing*. The complements of the four tokens of *forbearing* all complied with the principle, since no *-ing* forms were found. However, contrary to the hypothesis, the *to*-infinitive with only one token was not the preferred option in this environment (cf. table 3). The *to forbear* structure was somewhat more frequent in the data with 15 tokens, and again no violations of the *horror aequi* principle were found:

- (3) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: ...me for the present; but as my danger was not so immediate as I had reason to dread, and he had promised to forbear coming to me, and to write to you, my dear parents, to quiet your concern, I was a little more easy...
- (4) **Hume** 1739-40 – *Treatise of Human Nature*: It is easier to forbear all examination and enquiry, than to check ourselves in so natural a propensity, and guard against that...
- (5) **Cibber** 1753 – *The Lives of the Poets*: ...then he shut up the churches, charging the clergy to forbear sacred offices to any of the Venetians, till their obedience should make them capable of absolution.

The only *-ing* form found is the one illustrated in (3) – a result which does not support the idea that the *to*-infinitive in the higher verb would necessarily function as a springboard for the spread of the *-ing* form complement. In fact, the NP complement with eight tokens and the ZERO with four were the most common complements with *to forbear*. The use of NPs as an ‘indirect avoidance strategy’ did seem a possibility in some cases, however. For example in (4) above, the NP could be seen as an alternative to a sentential complement “to examine and enquire”. Also in (5), where the peculiar NP-to-NP complement is found, it could be argued that the verb form ‘ordaining’ is understood between *forbear* and *sacred offices*. However, since this token is a clear exception among the complementation patterns selected by *forbear*, it is perhaps best not to speculate too much on it.

The data included thirteen instances of extractions (4.3 pmw). Contrary to expectations, the extraction environment did not offer a safe haven to the *to*-infinitive, as the *-ing* form prevailed even in this context with nine tokens against four infinitives:

- (6) **Fielding** 1749 – *Tom Jones*: One remark, however, I cannot forbear making on her narrative, namely, that she made no more mention of Jones, from the beginning...
- (7) **Cibber** 1753 – *The Lives of the Poets*: But there are several places which one cannot forbear thinking a translation from classic writers. In the Tempest Act V. Scene II....
- (8) **Johnson** 1740-1 – *Parliamentary Debates*: ...under a necessity, [...] of promoting their schemes; those schemes which scarcely any ministry has forborne to adopt...

The majority of the extractions were relativizations, as in (7)-(8), but there were also two instances of topicalization, as seen in (6). The readiness of the *-ing* form to occur in extraction environments suggests that the complement has become very common with *forbear*. A closer analysis of the tokens reveals, however, another reason for the preponderance of *-ing* forms; seven tokens out of nine are preceded by the *cannot/could not* environment. As for the four *to*-infinitives, none of them are affected by the micro-semantic factor.

The *cannot/could not* environment was observed altogether in 70 tokens. The complements used in the environment divided so that in two instances the complement was an NP and in the rest sentential complements were employed. As hypothesized, the connection between the environment and the *-ing* complement was strong: in 77% of the instances the complement was the *-ing* form and in 20% the *to*-infinitive. The importance of the structure is also highlighted by the fact that out of all the *-ing* forms in the data, 87% had the *cannot/could not* environment preceding *forbear*. However, even with *to*-infinitives the same percentage was rather high at 40%:

- (9) **Reeve** 1777 – *The Old English Baron*: Mr. Wenlock could no longer forbear speaking – "Knighthood," said he, "is an order belonging to gentlemen, it cannot be conferred..
- (10) **Johnson** 1759 – *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*: The Princess burst out into new lamentations, and Rasselas could scarcely forbear to reproach them with cowardice...
- (11) **Johnson** 1759 – *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*: I cannot forbear to flatter myself that prudence and benevolence will make marriage happy.

At first it seems somewhat peculiar that there are as many as 14 instances (i.e. 20%) of the type illustrated in (10) and (11), since they so strikingly run contrary to the general tendency. However, taking the authors

into account, it is revealed that all of the atypical tokens, except for one²⁰, are found in two texts by the same author, Samuel Johnson, and are therefore clearly a result of the author's personal preference.

The chi-square value for the *cannot/could not* factor is 14.62 with $p < .0001$, which indicates very high significance. The calculated values are based on the figures presented in table 4, below:

Table 4. Distribution of sentential complements relative to the occurrence of the *cannot/could not* environment in CLMETEV-1.

	<i>-ing</i> form	<i>to</i> -infinitive
The <i>cannot/could not</i> environment	54	13
No factor	6	13

As concerns any semantic motivation for the connection between the negation environment and the *-ing* form, a certain pattern can be detected based on the theory and the data. In section 2.1.2, the meaning of the *-ing* was connected to the concepts of 'concreteness', 'completeness' and 'factual information', whereas the *to*-infinitive was seen as something more 'hypothetical', 'possible', or 'incomplete'. Consider:

- (12) **Doddridge** 1750 – *The Life of Col. James Gardiner*: ...a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself, 'Oh that I were that dog!'
- (13) **Bradley** 1732 – *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*: I forbear to mention here the manner of dresing Spitchcot-Eels, as they are already set down in the first part of...
- (14) **Richardson** 1740 – *Pamela*: ...you creep by little and little upon me; and now soothe me, and now threaten me; and if I should forbear to shew my resentment, when you offer incivilities to me, would not that be to be lost by degrees?

In (13)-(14), the actions expressed by the sentential complements can only be hypothetical propositions since the negative nature of *forbear* naturally prevents them from happening. On the other hand, in (12), the *cannot/could not* environment changes the situation so that the meaning becomes closer to *he could not help but...* or *he had to....* In this environment the action evoked by the *-ing* clause always takes

²⁰ For the token, see illustration (1) at the beginning of this section. It is likely that the insertion influences the type of complement selected.

place, and therefore becomes concrete, and can be presented as a fact and as a complete action. This analysis is also fairly congruent with Egan's (2008:156) work, where he discusses certain 'Applied-attitude'²¹ verbs (*try*, *help* and *endure*) that appear in "Same-time *-ing*" and "Forward-looking *to infinitive*" constructions. Egan (2008:161) notes in connection to the verb *endure*: "The Same-time construction [...] always entails the realization of the complement situation. The Forward-looking construction [...] always implies its non-realization", a definition which clearly echoes the situation with *forbear* as well. The reason why *forbear* is not discussed by Egan in this connection is probably due to the rarity of the verb in PE, but also because the semantic tendency is, in fact, just that and not a fixed semantic feature, as it is with *help*, for example (cf. *help to* vs. *cannot help -ing*).

In connection to this, it is also worth noting that the inflectional form *forbore* is the only inflection which is more common with the *to*-infinitive. Indeed, the past tense form excludes any modal auxiliaries and negation, from which it follows that the activity in the complement, due to the negative implicative nature of *forbear*, is not actualized. Therefore the more hypothetical *to*-infinitive may be better suited for this context.

As for the overall semantics of *forbear*, all the tokens with sentential complements were analyzed as belonging to group [D], which denotes 'refraining' and 'abstaining' from something in general. However, a closer analysis of the sentential complements themselves revealed that at least two semantically coherent groups could be formulated²². A larger group (~50 tokens) consisted of verbs denoting actions connected to 'speaking', with expressions such as [forbear] "adding a remark", "interrupting", "relating a story", "speaking", "mentioning" and "replying", to name only a few. What

²¹ *Forbear* is also listed as an Applied-attitude verb by Egan (2008:29).

²² A third group, "Miscellaneous", was also formed, consisting of those verbs that could not be assigned to the other two groups. These verbs varied semantically considerably.

makes this groups interesting is that it can be linked to sense [E:Withhold] and to the understood meaning of *forbear*, which was already discussed in connection to NP complements:

- (15) **Hume** 1779 – *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*: But though you should rank me in this class of fools, I cannot forbear communicating a remark that occurs to me, from the history of the religious and irreligious skepticism...
- (16) **Doddridge** 1750 – *The Life of Col. James Gardiner*: I cannot forbear mentioning one struggle of this kind which he described to me, with a large detail of circumstances, the first day of our acquaintance.

With the token in (15) it seems plausible that the verb *communicate* in the complement could be left out, but deleting *mention* in (16) renders the sentence practically unintelligible. The explanation for the difference most likely lies in the type of the NP complement that would be left behind. As was noted in section 3.1, the NP complement in an understood reading is often restricted to certain types (Dixon 2005:195). With the understood meaning of *forbear*, it seems that the NP has to refer to a SPEECH ACT. As the NP *remark* in (15) makes a clear reference to one, leaving out the verb *communicate* is possible. The same does not, however, apply to (16), with “struggle” as the head of the NP.

In the other group of sentential complements (~22 tokens), the connecting semantic factor was the ‘expression of an emotion’, with complements such as “admiring”, “smiling”, “expressing some surprise”, “feeding despair”, “loving” and “shewing resentment”, to name some examples. This group, as well, is connected to the analysis of the NP complements, where it was noted how sense 3 in the *OED* (s.v. *forbear* v.) specifically refers to ‘forbearing an emotion’.

7.2 Second part: 1780-1850

The search of the second part of the CLMETEV yielded a total of 119 tokens. The drop in usage from the first period was thus fairly significant (from 43 wpm down to 18.9 wpm). Eight tokens that turned out to be from older texts or from poems were excluded from the analysis.

The way the tokens were distributed among the authors was again under scrutiny. The CLMETEV-2 includes texts from 46 contributing authors and the retrieved tokens came from the texts of 30 writers. However, the representativeness and reliability of the data is severely weakened by the fact that almost half of the tokens (44.7%) come from a single source, namely from the novel *Cecilia* (publ. 1783) by Frances Burney.

The table 5 below gives an overall view of the patterns and their frequencies:

Table 5. Complement patterns in the CLMETEV – 1780-1850²³

Inflection / Complement	Forbear	Forbore	Forborne	Forbearing	Σ	%	NF
<i>Ing</i> form	28	8	3	-	39	36	6.8
<i>To</i> -inf.	13	16	3	1	33	30.6	5.8
From-ing	1	2	-	-	3	3	.5
NP	6	8	4	1	19	17.6	3.3
With-NP	1	-	-	-	1	.9	.2
From-NP	-	1	-	-	1	.9	.2
∅	9	3	-	-	12	11	2.1
Σ	58	38	10	2	108	100	18.9

As was with the material in the first part, there are no 3rd person singular forms of *forbear* in the data. It is also worth noting how the past tense form *forbore* seems to attract the *to*-infinitive complement.

7.2.1 NP, PP and Zero Complements in CLMETEV-2

Two proverbial uses were found in the second part as well, but this time both of the tokens were of the intransitive type described in the *OED*. As for PP complements, in addition to the one *from*+NP complement – a pattern once found in the first part as well – a new pattern was detected:

²³ Two proverbs of the type ‘bear and forbear’ found in the data are not included. Another presumably proverbial use was also found in one token by Foster (1821): “whether [...] they will hear, or whether they will forbear”. This token is not listed in table 5 either.

- (1) **Bulwer-Lytton** 1834 – *The Last Days of Pompeii*: ... so none ever interpret us with justice; and none, no, not our nearest and our dearest ties, forbear with us in mercy!
- (2) **Southey** 1813 – *Life of Horatio Lord Nelson*: ...though he forbore from any public expression of displeasure at seeing the proofs and trophies of his victory destroyed,...

The PP complement [--with+NP] was listed under sense [A:Tolerate] in table 2, and the illustration in (1) is compatible with the said sense. In (2), the meaning is the basic [D:Refrain], although, again, the complement NP bears resemblance to *OED* sense 3 of ‘forbearing an emotion’.

The percentage of nominal complements in the data was on the same level compared to the first part of the corpus, at 17% (11 out of 19 tokens from F. Burney). The understood meaning of *forbear* was again found (10/19 tokens):

- (3) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: But though she scrupulously forbore the smallest complaint, she failed not from time to time to cast out reflections upon fickleness ...
- (4) **Lamb** 1807 – *Tales from Shakespeare*: Lucentio, Bianca’s husband, and Hortensio, the other new-married man, could not forbear sly jests, which seemed to hint at the shrewish disposition of Petruchio’s wife...
- (5) **Cottle** 1847 – *Reminiscences of S. T. Coleridge and R. Southey*: ...but not too much to discourage the enthusiastic aspirant after happiness, I forebore all reference to the accumulation of difficulties to be surmounted, and merely inquired...

The understood reading is clear in (3)-(4) (e.g. *forbore to utter the smallest complaint; uttering sly jests*). Tokens such as in (5), where the paraphrase is not as straightforward (e.g. *forbore to make any reference*), are, however, also analyzed as instances of the understood sense since a “missing” verb of communication can still be inferred. Other examples of this type include: *all interference, any further enquiry, any importunity, any further expostulation*.

The connection to ‘forbearing an emotion’ was found in three tokens (cf. also (2) above):

- (6) **Gillman** 1838 – *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*: ...on account of the name being pretty and metrical, indeed he could never forbear a smile when relating the story.

What comes to ZERO complementation, *forbear* is often used as a command. Little less than a half of the tokens (6 tokens) are commands or paraphrases of commands with sense [D:Refrain], except for one token:

- (7) **Lamb** 1808 – *Adventures of Ulysses*: But Telemachus cried to them to forbear, and not to presume to lay hands upon a wretched man to whom he had promised protection.

Token in (7) illustrates sense [A:Tolerate], although a distinction could again be made between ‘abstaining from injuring or punishing’, as in (7), and ‘showing forbearance’, since the former can be rephrased with a sentential complement.

The analysis of the rest of the ZERO complement tokens revealed a new way to use the verb:

- (8) **Brontë** 1847 – *Agnes Grey*: I might [...] propose questions the reader be puzzled to answer, and deduce arguments that might startle his prejudices, or perhaps provoke his ridicule, because he could not comprehend them; but I forbear.
 (9) **Dickens** 1812 – *Barnaby Rudge*: Mr Tappertit looked at him as though he were about to give utterance to some very majestic sentiments [...], but as it was clear [...] that the engagement was one of a pressing nature, he graciously forbore, ...

Both of these tokens of *forbear* seem to have a missing complement construction: *but I forbear to propose questions* and *he graciously forbore to give utterance*. These actions are understood as the ones which are refrained from, but possibly due to avoidance of repetition they are left out from the complement position, creating thus a type of ellipsis. A quick survey of relevant literature reveals that this type of structure is known as *Null Complement Anaphora* (NCA) (Hankamer and Sag 1976:411²⁴; the left out complement added by V.P):

- (10) I asked Bill to leave, but he refused [to leave].

NCA is analyzed as a type of *deep anaphor*, which as opposed to *surface anaphors*, “shows no evidence of resulting from a syntactic deletion process” (Hankamer and Sag 1976:414-415). That is, the sentence in (10), as in (8) and (9), is not a result of syntactic transformations. In fact, instead of considering something “left out”, or “deleted”, a more accurate expression would be “substituted” – the NCA can substitute either a linguistic structure, as in (8)-(9), or, what is more, a “semantic unit” that only exists in

²⁴ Due to limitations of space, the introduction to the theory of NCA is brief and restricted to Hankamer and Sag’s (1976) analysis. I am aware, nevertheless, that there are linguists who refute their theory. For example, Napoli (1983) argues against null complements, and suggests that instances such as in (9) are simply intransitive uses.

the pragmatic environment of the utterance (Hankamer and Sag 1976:425). Also worth noting is that the linguistic antecedent does not have to be in the form that would normally be required by the governing verb, which can be seen in (8), where there is a bare infinitive “propose” instead of a *to*-infinitive (Hankamer and Sag 1976:413). The fact that NCA does not require linguistic antecedents, but can be interpreted within the overall pragmatic context, and that the antecedent is not syntactically controlled makes it possible to consider also the imperatives, and paraphrases of them, as having an anaphor:

- (11) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: ...he hastily called to a waiter to bring him a bottle of champagne. Of this he drank glass after glass, notwithstanding Cecilia, as Mrs Harrel had not courage to speak, entreated him to forbear [sic].

Illustration in (11) can be seen as a situation in which the non-linguistic action (drinking champagne) is asked to be forborne. The interpretation of the command thus rests solely on the situation²⁵. However, as we are not watching a play, it is perhaps more accurate to say that there is a linguistic antecedent for the anaphor (“he drank glass after glass”).

The possibility of NCA could also be considered for sense [A:Tolerate]. In the light of the data it would seem that also in (7) the context defines the action (i.e. some kind of fit of violence) from which one is asked to refrain. More data is, however, needed to conclude how NCA would work with the sense of ‘showing forbearance / being tolerant’.

7.2.2 Sentential Complements in CLMETEV-2

Sentential complements prevailed in the second part of the CLMETEV, although their overall proportion had slightly come down from 75% in the first part to 69% in the present material. An interesting change

²⁵ One can, of course, ask whether not all imperatives are context bound. *Don't drink!* or *Stop!* would then be an instances of NCA as well. Hankamer and Sag (1976) do not discuss imperatives, nor is there any information on how verb specific or non-specific a phenomenon NCA is.

can also be seen in the ratio between the *-ing* forms and the *to*-infinitives, as the share of infinitives rises from 34% (33/97) in the first part to 45% (35/77) in the second. The finding seems to run contrary to the theory of the Great Complement Shift.

Insertions do not provide an explanation for the rise. No more than eight tokens with structural discontinuity were found in the data, and only in three of them the complement was the *to*-infinitive (the rest had the *-ing* form complement):

- (1) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: ...I forbore, therefore, even in my wishes, to solicit your favour, and vigorously determined to fly ...
- (2) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: ...offended by seeing the impossibility of ever doing enough [...] forbore not without difficulty enquiring what next was expected from her...
- (3) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: ...she preserved the steadiness of her opposition, and that she had a conflict perpetual with herself, to forbear openly acknowledging the contrariety of her wishes, and the perplexity of her distress;...

The length or the structure of the insertion did not play a major role, as can be seen in (1) and (2), in which both insertions are rather long and complex. It is in fact more likely that the *cannot/could not* environment, which was present in three out of the five tokens with the *-ing* form complement, has overridden the complexity factor. Consider also (3), where *horror aequi* may have had a stronger impact on the choice of complement than the short insertion. Based on these tokens it thus seems that insertions are not necessarily the strongest factor affecting the choice of complement.

No violations of the *horror aequi* principle were found, which, despite the scarcity of data, testifies to the validity of the factor. There were two tokens of the inflection *forbearing* (cf. table 5) and eight tokens in which *forbear* was preceded by the infinitive marker. It is difficult to make strong claims about the power of the *to*-infinitive forms to attract the *-ing* form complement, but half of the complements were, indeed, *-ing* forms; the rest consisting of ZERO complements (cf. (7) in 7.2.1) and of one NP complement (which could, perhaps, be seen as an alternative avoidance strategy):

- (4) **Clarkson** 1839 – *The History of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade*: Could it be called humanity to forbear committing murder? Exactly upon this ground did the motion stand; ...

- (5) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: I then wished no longer to shun you; bound in honour to forbear all efforts at supplanting a man, to whom I thought you almost united,...

Although the double *-ing* constraint is considered a stronger factor in influencing complementation, it is worth noting that, so far, no adjacent *to*-infinitive constructions have been found either.

Six extractions were found in the data (1 pmw). All of the extractions were relativizations, except for one topicalization, and complied with the extraction principle, i.e. had the *to*-infinitive complement. The finding is interesting when compared to the result from the first period, as the change clearly seems to be towards *to*-infinitive complementation and not vice versa:

- (6) **Burney** 1782 – *Cecilia*: ... while the company in general, saw with much surprize, the place they had severally foreborne to occupy from respect to their host, ...
 (7) **Bulwer-Lytton** 1834 – *The Last Days of Pompeii*: ...the hag, gloating over her fell scheme, in this is but little danger; for by ten thousand methods, which men forbear to seek, can our victim become mad.
 (8) **Smith J. & Smith H.** 1812 – *Rejected Addresses*: ...particularly from an old fruit-woman who has turned king's evidence, and whose name, for obvious reasons, we forbear to mention, though we have had it some weeks in our possession...

But if the change in the extractions was interesting, the change in the *cannot/could not* environment is drastic. Whereas in the first part of the CLMETEV the structure preceded 87% of all the *-ing* form tokens, in the second part the percentage drops to 52%; which clearly implies that the *-ing* form is not restricted to this one environment only. It is noteworthy, however, that no *to*-infinitives were found with the structure in this period. This finding attests to the preference of the *cannot/could not* environment for the *-ing* form complement, even though the complement type itself does not necessarily require the micro-semantic factor.

Table 6 presents the figures that were inserted to the online chi-square matrix. Note that the three tokens with [–From-Ing] complements are included in the calculations.

Table 6. Distribution of sentential complements relative to the occurrence of the *cannot/could not* environment in CLMETEV-2.

	<i>-ing</i> form	<i>to</i> -infinitive
The <i>cannot/could not</i> environment	19	0
No factor	15	23

The chi-square value for the micro-semantic factor in this data set is 16.85 and the value $p < .0001$ yet again indicates very high significance. But what explains the distribution? Consider the following illustrations:

- (9) **Borrow** 1842 – *Bible in Spain*: I could not forbear laughing when I saw these books; they instantly brought to my mind the skippers of Padron...
- (10) **Godwin** 1783-4 – *Four Early Pamphlets*: ... facilitating the acquisition of languages, so just in itself, and so universally practicable, that I cannot forbear mentioning it.
- (11) **Lamb** 1808 – *Adventures of Ulysses*: a certainty that he was arrived in his own country, and with the delight which he felt he could not forbear stooping down and kissing the soil.

The illustrations (9)-(11) are again apt to testify to the validity of the proposition made in section 7.1.2 that the change in the meaning of *forbear* induced by the *cannot/could not* structure is a plausible reason for the use of the *-ing* form complement. The paraphrases of the above illustrations; *I had to laugh / laughed, I have to mention* and *he could not but stoop down and kiss* show that the action denoted by the complement takes place. As for the *to*-infinitives, the majority of them were found with the past tense form of the matrix verb, which obviously cannot occur with the *cannot/could not* environment. Neither is negation possible. *To*-infinitives selected by *forbear* in the infinitive form were not found in negation environments either, i.e. there were no *doesn't/didn't forbear to* tokens. Thus, the negative implication of the verb was always present with *to*-infinitives leaving the action in the complement unrealized or a “targeted alternative” (Egan 2008).

As in the analysis of the first part of the CLMETEV, a semantic analysis of the sentential complements revealed that *forbear* often subcategorizes for certain types of verbs. Again the biggest semantically coherent group of verbs (~36 tokens) was related to ‘speaking’ with expressions such as

[forbear] “to mention”, “to hint”, “to speak at all”, “to tell”, “from giving utterance”, “making further complaints”, “questioning” and “to enter into minute particulars”. As was observed earlier, this group has a connection to sense group [E:Withhold]. Another group (~14 tokens), titled ‘expression of an emotion’, was also formed. It included complements such as [forbear] “to pity”, “laughing”, “being hurt”, “smiling”, “rejoicing”, “repining” and “to utter aloud the execration of fear and hatred”. This group bears resemblance to the *OED* sense 3 (cf. table 1).

Not all complements were, however, classified under any specific semantic fields. One group (~28 tokens) could therefore simply be labeled as “Miscellaneous”. The only thing that ties all the different tokens together is that in each the complement action is something that people can have a desire to do, and to contemplate doing. From this it follows that the subject is almost invariably [+HUMAN], and its semantic role either Agent, or Experiencer, even when the reference is metaphorical:

- (12) **Cary** 1846 – *Lives of the English Poets*: ...confined him “to a sonnet once a year, or so;” warning him, that “age, like infancy, should forbear to play with pointed tools.”

7.3 Third part: 1850-1920

The search of the third part of the CLMET3.0 yielded altogether 83 tokens, out of which 21 were irrelevant, including nouns, adjectives and excerpts from older texts, thus resulting in a total of 62 tokens. Although the most extensive version of the CLMET was used in the search, the comparison of normalized frequencies across the three time periods reveals a clear trend in the use of *forbear* from the 1710 onwards: less and less writers use the verb. The normalized frequencies of the relevant tokens from the three periods are: 43 pmw > 19.6 pmw > 4.9 pmw.

As the size of the sample is as small as 62 tokens, it is crucial to consider how the tokens are spread among the different authors. In the CLMET3.3 there are 91 contributing authors and the data includes tokens from roughly a third – that is, from 25 writers. Fortunately, the highest number of tokens

coming from a single source was in this case eight (13 %), which means that the authors' personal preferences should not thwart the results significantly.

The different complement patterns found in the data are presented in table 7.

Table 7. Complement patterns in the CLMET3.0 – 1850-1920

Inflection / Complement	Forbear	Forbore	Forborne	Forbearing	Σ	%	NF
<i>Ing</i> form	11	-	-	-	11	18	.9
<i>To-inf.</i>	5	17	3	2	27	44	2.1
From- <i>ing</i>	4	-	-	-	4	7	.3
NP	3	2	1	1	7	11	.6
∅	8	3		1	12	20	.9
Σ	31	22	4	4	61	100	4.9

The third person singular form of *forbear* was again absent from the data (five plurals of the noun *forbear* were found). There was one instance of the proverbial use. For the first time, the proportion of *to*-infinitives exceeded that of *-ing* form complements.

7.3.1 NP, PP and Zero Complements in CLMET3.3

No PP complements were found in the current search, but there were some interesting tokens among the seven NP complements found:

- (1) **Pater** 1885 – *Marius the Epicurean*: ...conducted by Cornelius [who behaved] as if he forbore the explanation which might well be looked for by his companion.
- (2) **Hope** 1898 – *Rupert of Hentzau*: In spite of the serious matters in hand I could not forbear a smile, while young Bernenstein broke into an audible laugh,...
- (3) **Pater** 1885 – *Marius the Epicurean*: And soon a rumour passed through the country that she whom the blue deep had borne, forbearing her divine dignity, was even then moving among men...
- (4) **Gissing** 1891 – *New Grub Street*: ... seeing him in the title-lists of a periodical, most people knew what to expect, but not a few forbore the cutting open of the pages he occupied.

(1) and (2) illustrate the understood meaning of *forbear*, and the sense connected to emotions, respectively. Both senses were also found in the earlier sets of data. In (3), however, a new sense of

forbear is found that was not included in the analysis. This is sense 4b., ‘to give up, part with or from, lose’, the latest quotation of which in the *OED* is from the year 1590 (s.v. *forbear* v.). Illustration in (4), on the other hand, is more interesting from the syntactic point of view, as it has the fairly archaic action nominal in it.

All of the tokens with ZERO complements are of the type [D:Refrain] where the complement can be inferred from the linguistic context (12 tokens):

- (5) **Blackmore** 1869 – *Lorna Doone, a Romance of Exmoor*: ... I was much inclined to clasp her round; but remembering who she was, forbore, ...
- (6) **Meredith** 1895 – *The Amazing Marriage*: He, too, had his band of pugilists, as it was known; and he might have heightened a raging scandal. The nobleman forbore.

These two illustrations show how the antecedent of the NCA is not restricted by the complement selection properties of *forbear* (*forbore to clasp her around* / **forbore have heightened a raging scandal*). The antecedent does not have to occur in the same sentence as the NCA, either (cf. (6)), but according to Hankamer and Sag (1976:424) it has to be placed left of the anaphor.

The difference between the NCA reading and intransitivity is described by Hankamer and Sag (1976:412) by noting how in the sentence with an intransitive *eat*: “I bring him soup and potatoes, but he won’t eat”, the meaning is more general²⁶ than in sentences with NCA, where there is always a connection to the antecedent. In (5) and (6), it is indeed made clear that a certain action is *forborne*.

7.3.2 Sentential Complements in CLMET3.3

Sentential complements were again the most common complement type in the data (69%). As was noted above, however, the *-ing* form complement has lost the battle to the *to*-infinitive, which now constituted 64% of all sentential complements.

²⁶ I.e. *soup and potatoes* does not function as an antecedent.

Unfortunately, there are no insertions in the data to be analyzed. As concerns *horror aequi*, nine tokens can be considered. Out of the four tokens with *forbearing*, two had the *to*-infinitive complement, and no violations of the principle were found. Consider, however, the following tokens, in which the matrix is in the marked infinite form:

- (1) **Collins** 1868 – *The Moonstone*: Mr. Franklin appeared to think it a point of honour to forbear repeating to a servant – even to so old a servant as I was – what Miss Rachel had said to him on the terrace.
- (2) **Meredith** 1895 – *The Amazing Marriage*: The girl was counselled by the tremor of her instincts to forbear to speak of the minor circumstance, that her mistress had, besides a good stick, a good companion on the road ...

Illustration (1) is in accordance with the *horror aequi* principle. Out of the five tokens of *to forbear*, four had the *-ing* form complement (two preceded by the preposition *from*). In (2), however, an exception to the rule is found. Although this is the only violation of the principle found so far, it would seem that the avoidance of two adjacent *to*-infinitives is not, after all, as strong a factor as the double *-ing* constraint.

Only one token with an extracted element was found:

- (3) **Linton** 1885 – *The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland*: Of one person only she forebore to speak evil, though she also never committed herself so far as to speak good.

The extraction type is topicalization and the token complies with the extraction principle, although not much can be said with only one token. The reason why the number of extractions is so low can only be guessed at, although changes in the style used in fictional texts may be a factor.

The *cannot/could not* environment proved interesting once more. It was found with 11 tokens. Out of the 15 tokens with the *-ing* form complement in the data – the variations with the preposition *from* included in the figure – ten were preceded by the *cannot/could not* environment. What is more, four out of the five *-ing* complement tokens without the effect of the environment can be explained by the *horror aequi* principle. The distribution of sentential complements presented in table 8 shows the

connection between the *cannot/could not* environment and the *-ing* form complement. This time, however, the chi-square test could not be applied due to the low number of tokens²⁷.

Table 8. Distribution of sentential complements relative to the occurrence of the *cannot/could not* environment in CLMETEV3.3.

	<i>-ing</i> form	<i>to</i> -infinitive
The <i>cannot/could not</i> environment	10	0
No factor	1	23

The majority of the *to*-infinitives were found with the past tense form *forbore* in this set of data as well. The five [*forbear to* inf] tokens also had the Forward-looking sense to them, to follow Egan's (2008) terminology:

- (4) **Linton** 1885 – *The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland*: A man does not forbear to peep through the keyhole, [...], or do any other purely dishonourable action, for fear of God or the devil, but because of that self-respect which....

At first the illustration in (4) seems a contradiction to the analysis of the semantics of the *cannot/could not* environment, in which the negation element of the environment was considered key to explaining the preference for the *-ing* form complement. However, in (4) the actions denoted by the lower verbs are still presented as hypothetical generalizations, which might explain why the *to*-infinitive is chosen here.

The analysis of the lower verbs revealed that verbs referring to 'speaking' were again common with *forbear* (~23 tokens). The complement clauses include: "swearing", "mentioning", "asking", "to dwell upon the subject", "to tell him the state of things", "to add", "to refer", "to speak", etc. A smaller group of five tokens was also found, with lower verbs denoting 'expression of an emotion'. Complements in this group include for example; "giving his despondency an outlet", "laughing", "to utter this feeling".

²⁷ The chi-square test is no longer applicable when the expected frequencies drop below 5 (Oakes 1998:25).

8 Analysis of the COHA data

The search in the study specific sub-corpus of COHA resulted in 579 relevant tokens. As the POS tagging of a large corpus is rarely completely accurate and complete, there were a fair number of irrelevant tokens, such as adjectives, among the search results. Also, all the tokens found in poems and other types of texts written in verse had to be hand-picked from the data. However, as was stated earlier, problems in precision, although time-consuming, are not as challenging as problems in recall.

The dispersion of tokens among different writers is not as readily analyzed in COHA, where not the authors of the texts, but their works, are given (the highest number of tokens from a single text is 19). The high overall number of tokens is, however, trusted to even out possible writer idiosyncrasies. The search findings are presented in table 9²⁸ below.

Table 9. Complement patterns in COHA – 1850-1920

Inflection / Comp.	Forbear	Forbore	Forborne	Forbearing	Forbears	Σ	%	NF
<i>Ing</i> form	102	15	2	-	1	120	21.1	1.6
<i>To</i> -inf.	58	105	28	13	3	207	36.4	2.6
From-ing	8	2	-	-	-	10	1.8	.1
Nom.rel.cl.	1	-	-	-	-	1	.2	-
NP	57	22	15	2	-	96	17.4	1.3
From-NP	4	-	-	-	-	4	.7	-
With-NP	-	2	1	-	-	3	.4	-
∅	86	25	7	2	-	120	22	1.6
Σ	316	171	53	17	4	561	100	7.6

Although the total of tokens is much higher in this corpus compared to the CLMET3.3, the normalized frequencies reveal that *forbear* is not that much more popular in American fiction (5 pmw compared to 7.6 pmw). The figures of sentential complements seem to reflect the same trend as was found in British

²⁸ Fourteen tokens of the proverbial use of *forbear* are not included in the table. The expression “whether to hear, or to forbear” has likewise been left out (4 tokens).

English since *to*-infinitives are nearly twice as common as *-ing* form complements. Also, the past tense form of *forbear* seems to favour the *to*-infinitive in this set of data as well. The most conspicuous feature, perhaps, is the inflectional form *forbears* – missing entirely from the British data – which is now found in four tokens.

8.1 NP, PP and ZERO Complements in COHA

The fourteen instances of the proverbial use of *forbear* reveal that the expression is not unfamiliar to AmE writers, who use it in novel ways:

- (1) **Arthur**²⁹ 1853 – *The Home Mission*: That is, I must BEAR every thing and FORBEAR in every thing. I hardly think that just, aunt.
- (2) **Stowe** 1856 – *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*: ...in order to obtain a foothold for the influences of the Gospel to work on, it may be necessary to bear and forbear with many evils.

In (1), the expression is ‘half transitive’ and in (2), a PP complement is added to the proverb. Interestingly, the PP complement [–With-NP] is compatible with the sense group [A:Tolerate], to which the proverbial use of *forbear* also belongs.

As for the prepositional complements in the rest of the data, the same two complement types, namely [–From-NP] and [–With-NP], found in the CLMET, were found here:

- (3) **Melville** 1851 – *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale*: And in this way the two went once slowly round the windlass; when, solved at last no longer to retreat, bethinking him that he had now forborne as much as comported with his humor, the Lakeman paused...
- (4) **Robertson** 1891 – *David Fleming's Forgiveness*: He loved the lad too well to forbear from reproof, or at least a caution, so he stayed till the others had left the wood to say a word to him.

²⁹ The COHA data does not provide the authors of the texts, as was already noted. The names were retrieved for each illustration by searching for the texts online.

The token in (3) corresponds to sense [A:Tolerate], as could be expected based on table 2. In (4), on the other hand, we have the understood meaning of *forbear*. The understood meaning is, indeed, very common among the NP complements with half of them (~50 tokens; [--From-NP] complements included) referring to acts of speaking:

- (5) **Howells** 1877 – *Minister's Charge*: Again he forbore question or comment.
- (6) **Simms** 1856 – *Confession; or, The Blind Heart*: Edgerton grew pale as death, but remained silent. Kingsley was evidently astonished, but not so much so as to forbear the obvious answer.
- (7) **Wilson** 1864 – *Macaria*: She met his searching gaze calmly, and as they now neared the house he forbore any further allusion to the subject which he shrewdly suspected engaged her thoughts quite as fully as his own.

The token in (5) is interesting, as its complement resembles a bare infinitive. Three other similar tokens reveal, however, that this is not the case, but to leave out articles and determiners from the NP is more likely a stylistic choice.

Approximately a fifth of the NPs (~17 tokens) referred to emotions and desires and to their expression, with NPs such as “his sneers”, “a smile” (5 tokens), “a bitter laugh”, “a chuckle”, “all expression of feeling or opinion”, “the wish that I were a preacher”. Although these NPs clearly refer to the *expression* of feeling, thus not entirely fitting the *OED* description of sense 3.a., (cf. table 1), there is one token which clearly shows that the sense is still found in the latter half of the 19th century:

- (8) **Mitchell** 1855 – *Fudge Doings; Being Tony Fudge's Record of the Same*: She implored the Colonel to forbear his rage, and to listen to reason.

The rest of the NP tokens (~30) were from various different semantic fields. Overall, the meaning of *forbear* was analyzed as [D:Refrain] in this group, but there are two cases where other senses could also come into question:

- (9) **Garrick** 1879 – *The Country Girl*: This gentlewoman is yet under my care; therefore, you must yet forbear your freedom with her.
- (10) **Simms** 1856 – *Confession; or, The Blind Heart*: But, what was it to me, loving as I did, exclusive, and selfish, and exacting as I was – what was it to me if, forbearing all crime of conduct, she yet regarded another with eyes of idolatry...

Illustration in (9) can be analyzed as having sense [B]: ‘to endure the absence or privation of’, ‘to dispense with’, ‘do without’. In (10), the sense [A:Tolerate], which was earlier connected to tokens with the [--With-NP] complement, is found.

The ZERO complement turned out to be extremely common in the data there being more tokens selecting the ZERO complement than NP or *-ing* complements. Again, the use of *forbear* as a command is common with a third of the ZERO complement tokens being of this kind (33%; if paraphrases included, 40%). As a matter of fact, when *forbear* is used in the imperative, the ZERO complement is, with the exception of three tokens, the only complement type found:

- (11) **Mackaye** 1877 – *Won at Last*: MAUDLE. What the deuce do you mean? BUNK. Why, sir, such a word as “elope” should never be uttered in her presence. I pray you, forbear. Spare her innocence! MAUDLE. Oh! Of course.

The actual action that is to be refrained from is again interpreted against the context (*forbear to utter such words in her presence*), which would imply an NCA reading. However, as was noted earlier, all verbs in the imperative form could be considered context dependent. With other types of sentences, nevertheless, NCA reading seems more or less necessary. In these tokens the antecedent for the NCA is situated within the same sentence or right before it:

- (12) **Alger** 1896 – *Fame and Fortune*: He was afraid she would ask him in what street, but fortunately she forbore.
 (13) **Longstreet** 1864 – *Master William Mitten*: ...we are strongly tempted to follow this bill of sale through the several Courts in which it made its appearance, but in charity to the reader's patience we forbear.
 (14) **Locke** 1875 – *The Morals of Abou Ben Adhem*: After hearing you talk I might properly suggest that the best thing you could do for humanity would be to drown yourself; but I forbear. I am not in a sarcastic mood this morning. Go to!

In the few sentences with a longer gap between the antecedent and the NCA, the interpretation of *forbear* becomes less straightforward, but it is always recoverable. Overall, tokens of this type with NCA covered half of the ZERO complement tokens (50%; commands and their paraphrases excluded). Notice also that

a paraphrase with a sentential “do so” complement could be an alternative in the avoidance of repetition.

There are four tokens of this kind:

- (15) **Hawthorne** 1852 – *The Blithedale Romance*: I had serious thoughts of kissing them all round, but forbore to do so, because, in all such general salutations, the penance is fully equal to the pleasure.

The token in (15) seems to validate the NCA analysis, since the proform complement could also be left out without changing the meaning of the sentence. Although the data thus seems to support the NCA analysis, there are five ZERO tokens in which *forbear* does not refer to anything previously mentioned:

- (16) **De Mille** 1870 – *The Lady of the Ice*: Had a bombshell burst – but I forbear. That comparison is, I believe, somewhat half behind her.

All of the five tokens are of the same kind; that is, an idea is put forward, but stopped in the middle. In these cases *forbear* only has the sense “but I won’t go further” and the ‘do so’ paraphrase is not possible.

This type of usage was not found in BritE, and it does seem to contradict the NCA analysis.

So far the analysis has only considered tokens with sense [D:Refrain], but there were tokens from the other sense groups as well:

- (17) **Simms** 1856 – *Confession; or, The Blind Heart*: “What am I to do, dear Edward?” “Forbear, be indulgent, pity me and spare me!” “What mean you, Edward?”
 (18) **Rives** 1888 – *A Brother to Dragons*: By my troth, comrade, an I had not had so much the advantage by having my nippers in my hand, I would ‘a’ thrashed him then and there. But, “fair play” being my motto, [...] I forbore; yea, I forbore, and walked away unseen of him.
 (19) **Trowbridge** 1866 – *Lucy Arlyn*: “But you must be aware my pension is five weeks in arrears; and I suppose I must look to you for it.” “Yes: everybody looks to me for what I haven’t got. But couldn’t you forbear a little longer?”

Sense [A:Tolerate] was found in twelve tokens and is illustrated in (17) and (18) above. Notice the slight difference, however, between the two tokens. In (17) the meaning of *forbear* is ‘to be tolerant’, ‘show forbearance’, whereas an apt paraphrase of (18) would perhaps be *I forbore to trash him*. This distinction is found in the *OED* between senses 2 and 8 (cf. table 1). If we consider NCA in connection to these two

senses, it is clear that the ‘do so’ proform is only possible with (18). In (17), on the other hand, it is uncertain whether there is any antecedent which *forbear* would refer to.

The illustration in (19) is the first and only example of sense [F:Not to Urge] found so far, although the sense is listed with the ZERO complement option in table 2. The financial aspect of ‘refraining from urging the payment of money’ is clear in this illustration. The possibility of NCA can also be considered here, if a connection is seen between *forbear* and the antecedent *the pension / the money*.

8.2 Sentential Complements in COHA

Although sentential complements prevail in the AmE data as well, their overall percentage is slightly lower at 60% (compared to the 69% in the CLMET3.3). The *to*-infinitive is, by far, the most common complement type (37%) and almost twice as common as the *-ing* form complement (23%; [–From-Ing] included). The data in the AmE set thus clearly reflect the trend found in BritE, and the *-ing* complement seems to be past its heyday.

The data yielded twelve tokens with insertion, the analysis of which turned out to be rather complicated. From the outset the hypothesis is clear enough: one might expect – especially now with the rise of the *to*-infinitive – to find only these more sentential complements in this context. There were, nevertheless, four tokens that had the *-ing* form complement:

- (1) **Thompson** 1851 – *The Rangers*: As the acts of this notorious personage [...] will have no further connection with our story, we cannot forbear, before dismissing him entirely, giving the reader a short account of his subsequent career, and singular end.
- (2) **Simms** 1856 – *Confession; or, The Blind Heart*: ... though it must be admitted that the former could not always forbear, coming from church on the sabbath, to inquire into the last news of the Liverpool cotton market,...

The four tokens with the *-ing* complement were all affected by the *cannot / could not* environment, as is seen in (1). The micro-semantic factor could not, however, completely override the effect of insertions as two more tokens with the *cannot / could not* environment had the *to*-infinitive complement (cf. (2)). The length of the insertion does not provide any extra insight, as (1) and (2) both have a fairly long insertion. The figures (4>2) themselves would suggest that the *cannot/could not* environment would be slightly more effective than insertions, but with this kind of clashing of the different extra- and micro-semantic factors, it is indeed difficult to say anything certain.

The *horror aequi* principle, on the other hand, proved its potency in the complement selection once again. Table 9 already revealed that there are no exceptions to the *double -ing constraint* – the inflection clearly favouring the *to*-infinitive complement – and the analysis of the tokens with *forbear* in the *to*-infinitive showed that if the token has a sentential complement (there were also 17 NP and 10 ZERO complements) it is in the *-ing* form (11 tokens).

There are 28 extractions in three different extraction types in the data. Relativization is the most common type with 21 tokens. Topicalization occurred six times and clefting once:

- (3) **London** 1903 – *The Call of the Wild*: As Buck grew stronger they enticed him into all sorts of ridiculous games, in which Thornton himself could not forbear to join.. (Rel.)
- (4) **Field** 1896 – *The House*: Another episode which is still fresh in my memory I cannot forbear relating. (Top.)
- (5) **Green** 1919 – *Dark Hollow*: “He did? Did he offer any explanation for this lack of--of sympathy between us?” “Never. It was a topic he forbore to enter into and I think he only said what he did, to prevent any expectations on our part of ever seeing you.” (Cleft.)

The tokens in (3)-(4), not only illustrating the different extraction types, also show the same difficulty of analysis as found with insertions. Although the clear majority of the extraction tokens had the expected *to*-infinitive complement (23/28), there were again six tokens in which the *cannot/could not* environment most likely affected the choice, as out of these six, four had the *-ing* complement (cf. (3) and (4) above). Interestingly, and in accordance with the Complexity principle, the one *-ing* form token that was not

affected by the *cannot/could not* environment, had the preposition *from*, which can be seen as a bulkier element:

- (6) **Cooke** 1855 – *Ellie; or, The Human Comedy*: a conversation very popular in the select circle of this gentleman’s friends, which we forbear from touching upon. (Rel.)

The *cannot/could not* environment was found in 109 tokens with sentential complements³⁰. Quite expectedly, the *-ing* form was the favoured complement option in this environment with 91 tokens against 18 *to*-infinitive tokens. Eliminating the influence of the other factors, namely of insertions and extractions, we get 83 tokens with the *-ing* form and 14 with *to*-infinitives:

Table 10. Distribution of sentential complements relative to the occurrence of the *cannot /could not* environment in COHA.

	<i>-ing</i> form	<i>to</i> -infinitive
The <i>cannot/could not</i> environment	83	14
No factor	9	149

The fourteen *to*-infinitive tokens are this time genuine exceptions to the tendency since they all come from different texts by different authors. This means that even though the *cannot/could not* environment clearly affects the choice of complement ($p < .0001$, chi-square 162.81), the meaning-form pattern is clearly not ‘complete’ as it is with *endure* and *help* (cf. section 7.1.2).

A semantic analysis of the sentential complements showed very similar tendencies as were found in the British English data. 45 % of all the verbs found in the complement patterns referred to acts of speaking (‘speak’ with 17 tokens, ‘say’ with 10, ‘question’ with 9, ‘mention’ with 8 and ‘ask’ and ‘tell’ with 6 each; to mention just some of the most common verbs). Another smaller group referring to ‘pressing’ and ‘urging’ was also identified with altogether 26 tokens (8%). Majority of the tokens in this group in fact had a connection to speaking, with tokens such as “pressing her for any further explanation”

³⁰ There were also 32 tokens with an NP or a ZERO complement.

and “to press his question as to the whereabouts of Uncle Hiero”, but the group was still considered separate as it echoes so conveniently sense [F:Not to Urge].

Complement verbs denoting ‘expression of an emotion’ formed a fairly large group of 47 tokens (14%). ‘Laugh’ and ‘smile’ both occurred in 12 complement constructions, but there were instances such as “bursting into tears in public” and “expressing his incredulity” as well. The rest of the complement tokens were more or less miscellaneous instances, except for a rather interesting group of 18 tokens (5%) that all had a complement referring to ‘looking’ (‘look’ with 10 tokens; ‘glances’ were also ‘cast’, ‘sent’ or even ‘hurled’ in 5 tokens).

9 Discussion of the Findings

The analysis of the corpus data provided search results that were both expected and unexpected. Starting with the extra- and micro-semantic factors: insertions, extractions, *horror aequi* and the *cannot/could not* environment, we can first conclude that the influence some of them had on the choice of complement was perhaps weaker than was initially assumed, although there were great differences between the four factors.

The weakest factor in this data clearly was structural discontinuity. The altogether 24 tokens found in this study did not yield any substantial proof of insertions between the matrix and its complement resulting in the cognitively less complex *to*-infinitive complements. Especially if we look at the first two parts of the CLMETEV, where the *-ing* form complement³¹ is the dominating sentential complement, we see that the *to*-infinitive is not preserved by the insertion environments, but other factors, such as *horror aequi* and especially the *cannot/could not* environment, easily overshadow its effect. There are in fact only three tokens in all of the data for which one could argue that the insertion clearly has influenced the choice of complement by overriding the effect of other, let us say *stronger*, factors³². In the other cases, it is more difficult to maintain that the infinitival complement found after an insertion would actually be a result of the insertion per se, especially if the matrix verb is in the past tense form thus favouring the *to*-infinitive in any case.

Extractions did not prove to be that much more influential. The clear majority of the 48 tokens had the *to*-infinitive complement as hypothesized (34 tokens), but it needs to be noted that extractions could not easily block the effect of the *cannot/could not* environment – not even in COHA, where the *to*-infinitive is substantially more common than the *-ing* form complement in the first place. This is shown

³¹ The preposition variant [--from-ing] is included in the figures of *-ing* form complements in this chapter.

³² Cf. (1) in section 7.1.2, and (2) in section 8.2.

by the fact that out of the thirteen extraction tokens that were also influenced by the *cannot/could not* environment, eleven had the *-ing* form complement. Perhaps if the extraction environment had affected more tokens with the stronger micro-semantic factor than just two, the factor would have seemed more valid. Or, if all the other tokens except for the ones with the *cannot/could not* environment had had the *to*-infinitive complement, the effect of extractions would have seemed more convincing (3 extraction tokens had the *-ing* form complement without any contributing factor). Of course, 34 out of 48 tokens seems compelling as well, but, indeed, the majority of the extractions were found in the COHA data where the *to*-infinitive prevails any way. Could it be that *-ing* forms were possible because of certain, less complex, extraction types? The three different extractions, relativization, topicalization and clefting found in the data did not, however, reveal any patterns that would indicate a difference. Neither did the length of the “filler-gap domain” seem to have any effect on the type of complement. Thus, as the results are what they are, it cannot be concluded that extractions would impose, at least, any *strong* influence on the complementation of *forbear* in the material studied.

The *horror aequi* principle, on the other hand, turned out to be a surprisingly important factor. The double *-ing* constraint, 27 tokens of which were found in the two corpora, mostly opted for the *to*-infinitive complement (17 tokens), and what is more, there were no counterexamples. The findings on the avoidance of two adjacent marked infinitives also indicate that there is a factor at play here. Although the environment does not necessarily attract the *-ing* form since other complement types are also easily found, all the 21 *sentential* complements found in this study are *-ing* forms, with the exception of one token illustrated in section 7.3.2. The possibility of indirect avoidance strategies, i.e. of using NP complements with *to*-infinitives was also contemplated in the analysis of the data. Although the option seemed possible in some cases, it is felt that a more consistent pattern should have risen from the data in order to make stronger claims.

Although undeniably a strong factor influencing complementation, it is likely that the *horror aequi* principle benefits from the fact that the *cannot/could not* environment is not available in the same context. This micro-semantic factor was indeed found to be by far the most influential element in the choice of a sentential complement. Especially in the first part of the CLMETEV, where 87% of the *-ing* form tokens were influenced by the negation environment, the connection was obvious. The second part showed, however, that the *-ing* form complement does not require the environment in order to occur in the data, as only 52% of the *-ing* form tokens were preceded by it. But, even though the *-ing* form would not require the *cannot/could not* environment, the preference of the environment for the *-ing* form is obvious. Although a few NP complements are found with the structure in the British English data, apart from the input of Samuel Johnson, there are no *to*-infinitive complements found. Even in the third part of the CLMET3.0, where the number of *to*-infinitive complements for the first time exceeds that of *-ing* forms, the *cannot/could not* environment is not affected. The chi-square test, where applicable, also attests to the statistical significance of the environment throughout the different (sub-)corpora.

The connection between the negation environment and the *-ing* form, as far as I am aware, has not been explained in any relevant literature, which is why it was an interesting point to consider. As was noted in section 4.1, Fanego (1996:44) has suggested that the structure may have been formed as an analogy of the phrase *cannot/could not help + -ing*. A tentative suggestion that actually supports Fanego's reasoning was put forward in section 7.1.2. In a simple declarative sentence, the inherent negative implication of *forbear* means that the action of the lower clause is not realized; it is a possible outcome out of many, and according to Egan (2008) could be described as a "targeted alternative". These descriptions fit the semantic characteristics of the *to*-infinitive complement, which is indeed the preferred complement with the past tense form of *forbear*. However, when *forbear* is negated, its meaning is rendered practically opposite, and in fact very close to that of *cannot help -ing*. In this case, the

complement action does take place. These differences very much resemble and echo Egan's analysis of certain Applied-attitude verbs, namely *try*, *help* and *endure*, which also have a change in perspective relative to the type of complement (2008:156). With these verbs, the use of the *-ing* complement evokes a 'Same-time' and the use of the *to*-infinitive a 'Forward-looking' reading. What is more, in the case of *endure*, the Forward-looking *to*-infinitive also implies the non-realization of the complement action, whereas the Same-time *-ing* calls forth the opposite reading; an analysis that certainly fits the description of *forbear* (Egan 2008:161).

Projected to the data at hand, Egan's theory thus seems to support the initial analysis of the connection between the *cannot/could not* environment and the *-ing* form complement. It also seems likely that *forbear* indeed copied the structure from *help*, as the meaning of the two verbs in this negation environment is so close to one another³³. The 'copied' environment then gradually became very popular with *forbear*, at least in British literary texts, but as with *help*, *endure* and *try*, the pattern-meaning distribution did not stabilize. This means that the *-ing* form complement is found outside negative clauses, and in the American English data, there is a significant number of tokens in which the *cannot/could not* environment is found with a *to*-infinitive complement.

As was noted in section 2.1.1, *forbear* is one of the first verbs found with a clearly verbal *-ing* form complement (Fanego 1996:40). The first tokens of this kind in Fanego's (ibid.) data stem from the period 1570-1640³⁴, which is less than a hundred years till the beginning of the first sub-corpus studied here. During that time the *-ing* form complement spread in use, and in the data from the first part of the CLMETEV the *-ing* form complement is already twice as common as the *to*-infinitive complement.

³³ Jespersen (1940:194) lists both negated *help* and *forbear* in a group of semantically related verbs.

³⁴ No specific dates are given by Fanego (1996), but the first token with *forbear* comes from Shakespeare's play *Twelfth Night*, which was published in the first folio in 1623.

The findings from the second part of the CLMETEV, however, already mark a change in the development of the two complement types:

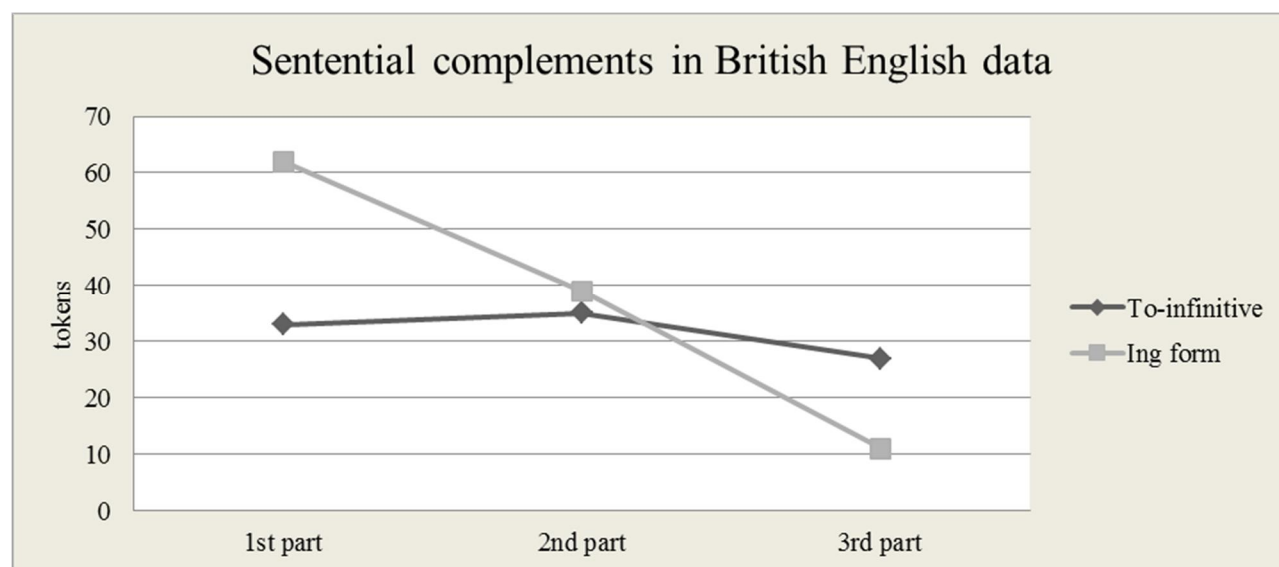


Figure 1. Sentential complements with *forbear* in the first two parts of the CLMETEV and in the third part of the CLMET3.0³⁵.

Figure 1 shows how the *to*-infinitive complement clearly starts to become more frequent from the second part of the CLMETEV onwards. The data from COHA, which correspond to the 3rd part of the CLMET3.0, also point in the same direction with the *to*-infinitive complement being almost twice as common as the *-ing* form. The change is in accordance with Vosberg's (2003a:320) observation on the theory of the Great Complement Shift that the variation between the two forms reached its highpoint with the authors born in the first half of the 1800s. Indeed, the writers of the first part of the CLMETEV are all born between 1680 and 1750 (De Smet 2005:71). From the end of the 1800s onwards, the *to*-infinitive slowly started to spread again, and if American English can be considered slightly ahead of British English in this development, it seems that – when entering the 20th century – the *-ing* form gradually started to lose its foothold even in the *cannot/could not* environment. However, colonial lead

³⁵ Note that the data in figure 1. is presented in raw figures and has not been normalized. Therefore especially the numbers of tokens in the significantly larger sub-corpus used for the 3rd part appear higher.

cannot be fully proved based on the findings of this study. Thus, even though *forbear* is slightly more common in American English, which could indicate a possibility of a lead according to Vosberg (2009:227); to prove this, one would need to consider material from beyond 1850 to see what the development of the *-ing* form has truly been in AmE. Alternatively, British English data from 1920 and onwards should also show whether the variety has followed in the footsteps of AmE.

The overall meaning of *forbear* was already discussed in connection to sentential complements. The negative implication is indeed an integral and interesting part of the semantic make-up of the verb. But another important element, volition, cannot be forgotten. Volition was discussed in section 2.1.2 in connection to the semantics of sentential complements (cf. Rudanko 1989), but it also has its implications for other aspects of the verb. For example, to be able to suppress a desire implies that the subject is capable of reasoning, and thus usually [+HUMAN]. The data shows that this is the case. The data also reveals that certain types of actions are more often forborn than others, since in the analysis of the verbs in the lower clauses two semantically coherent groups could be formed. The fact that verbs related to ‘speaking’ and to ‘expression of an emotion’ are so common in the data might reflect the themes of the literary texts in the 18th and 19th centuries (“speech is silvern, silence is golden”, “manners maketh a man”), but it should also be noted that senses [E:Withhold] of ‘refraining from using, uttering, mentioning’, and sense 3. of ‘forbearing an emotion’ suggest that these semantic fields are not uncommon with *forbear* (in the COHA data there was also the third group that reflected sense [F:Not to urge]). However, the only type of sentential complement that does *not* seem possible with *forbear* is one that does not have any element of intention or volition. A sentence such as *I forbore to fall of the ladder* would therefore be ill-formed in the sense of the verb *fall* that does not imply or require any consideration or intention. In section 7.2.2 it was also noted that the subject of *forbear* is either Agent or Experiencer, which means that the semantic role of Patient or Theme in this sentence does not work.

Although the tokens with sentential complements reflect the other senses as well, they were all analyzed as belonging to group [D:Refrain] that has the basic sense of ‘refraining from something’. In table 2, sense [D:Refrain] is indeed the only one listed with sentential complements, and the data supported this view. The semantic analysis of the other types of complements was not, however, quite as straightforward. The only clear pattern-meaning connection was found between sense [A:Tolerate] and the PP complement [–With-NP]. This connection was to be expected according to table 2. On the other hand, no similar connection was found for the PP complement [–From-NP], which was not restricted to any specific sense or structure in the data, nor were there any other factors found that could unequivocally explain why it is used with *forbear* (the effect of semantically similar *refrain from* and *abstain from* was mentioned in section 4). The use of the preposition *from*, although in some cases perhaps the result of the complexity principle, does thus seem haphazard before both NPs and *–ing* form complements.

The semantic analysis of *forbear* with NP complements proved to be as interesting as was expected based on table 2, where the complement type occurs with each of the six senses. Indeed, in the data NP complements are found not only with senses [A:Tolerate], [B:Do without], [D:Refrain] and [E:Withhold], but also with two senses that were not included in the analysis. Especially the *OED* sense 3. of ‘controlling an emotion’ seems peculiar if the number of tokens found is contrasted with the dates of the *OED* illustrations, as they lead to believe that the sense certainly should not be encountered anymore, even in this type of historical data. Although the definition of the sense was interpreted fairly loosely here, including also ‘*expression of an emotion*’, there were still tokens that clearly illustrated the sense (cf. (8) in section 8.1). In contrast, sense 4b. of ‘giving up’ or ‘losing’, was found only in one token, which indicates that the sense is clearly very marginal. The fact that no NP complement tokens were found for senses [C:Avoid] and [F:Not to urge] may imply that they were extremely rare in the 18th and 19th centuries, but it is also possible that they were more common in other text-types.

The understood sense of *forbear* was analyzed in connection to sense [E:Withhold]. The data supported the initial analysis of the *OED* illustrations, in which the possibility of an understood sentential complement was considered (section 3.1). In fact, *forbear* was found to reflect Dixon's (2005:195) analysis of certain verbs of 'postponing' to the extent that one could even consider adding it to the list. The fact that NP complements denoting a 'speech act' were found in each of the sub-corpora and corpora studied here, implies that the understood sense is no exception either.

Perhaps the most challenging complement type to analyze turned out to be the ZERO complement. It was found with three different senses of *forbear*: [A:Tolerate], [D:Refrain] and [F:Not to urge], although the latter sense was only found in one token (cf. (19) in section 8.1). The most common sense in this context was clearly [D:Refrain], which is used especially in commands in which it functions as an order to either refrain from a planned action, or to stop the ongoing action (in none of the tokens is there an implication that the action should be *paused*, cf. section 3.2). What these actions are, needed to be recovered from the context. However, also sense [A:Tolerate] was found with the imperative form. The analysis of these tokens revealed perhaps the first flaw or inaccuracy in the reorganization of the *OED* senses for this study, when the tokens attested to the difference between senses 2 and 8 (s.v. *forbear* v.) (cf. table 1). With sense 2 the order is 'to show forbearance', or 'to be tolerant (towards someone)', whereas with sense 8 the demand is almost identical to sense [D:Refrain], with the exception that the *action* to be forborne is semantically restricted to an act of violence. However, the difference between these two senses cannot be discerned from the verb itself, but the meaning is again recovered from the context of the utterance.

The importance of context was indeed highlighted with the ZERO complement tokens. Especially in a certain sentence type, a simplified presentation of which would be: [---, but X forbore], the action which is refrained from is only found in the context situated left of the verb (indicated by ---). Since the

action is not repeated in the complement position of *forbear*, it is the ZERO complement, or following Hankamer and Sag's (1976) analysis, the Null Complement Anaphora that ties the complement to its antecedent and completes the meaning of *forbear*. Tokens that seem to support the analysis that there is a reference to the left of the verb were found in the COHA data, where there were four tokens in which the “do so” proform was used (cf. (15) in section 8.1). The reason why no more than four proform tokens were found could be explained by the availability and neatness of the NCA reading; at least with sense [D:Refrain].

The possibility of NCA was also considered with senses [A:Tolerate] and [F:Not to urge] that do not select sentential complements. In section 8.1, the illustration in (18) shows that at least the sub-sense of [A:Tolerate] of ‘abstaining from injuring’ is compatible with the NCA analysis, and the token even fits the sentence model designed above. With sense [F:Not to urge] and the sub-sense of [A:Tolerate] (‘show forbearance’), however, the antecedent cannot be an action, but it has to be a thing. Is there a connection to an NP antecedent? Hankamer and Sag (1976) do not provide any lists of complements that can be substituted by the Null Complement Anaphora. They simply draw a difference between intransitive verbs and verbs that have NCA by noting that the former results in a more general reading, since with the latter there is always a reference to a preceding antecedent (Hankamer and Sag 1976:412). Although the NCA reading could perhaps be considered possible based on the definition, making these kinds of distinctions is challenging. To actually claim anything on the matter would require us to first determine when the reference of a verb is specific or non-specific and how definite this difference is. The same difficulty was also noted in connection to commands – how free of context can they ever be?

Many parts of the analysis would have benefitted from additional tokens. Therefore, for the most part the conclusions made in this study need to be considered against the fact that they are based on relatively low numbers of tokens. Partly this is due to the somewhat small size of the CLMETEV and

CLMET3.0, but the reality is that the biggest change in the history of *forbear* is the dramatic decline in its use from the 1780s³⁶ onwards – at least in the literary text-type:

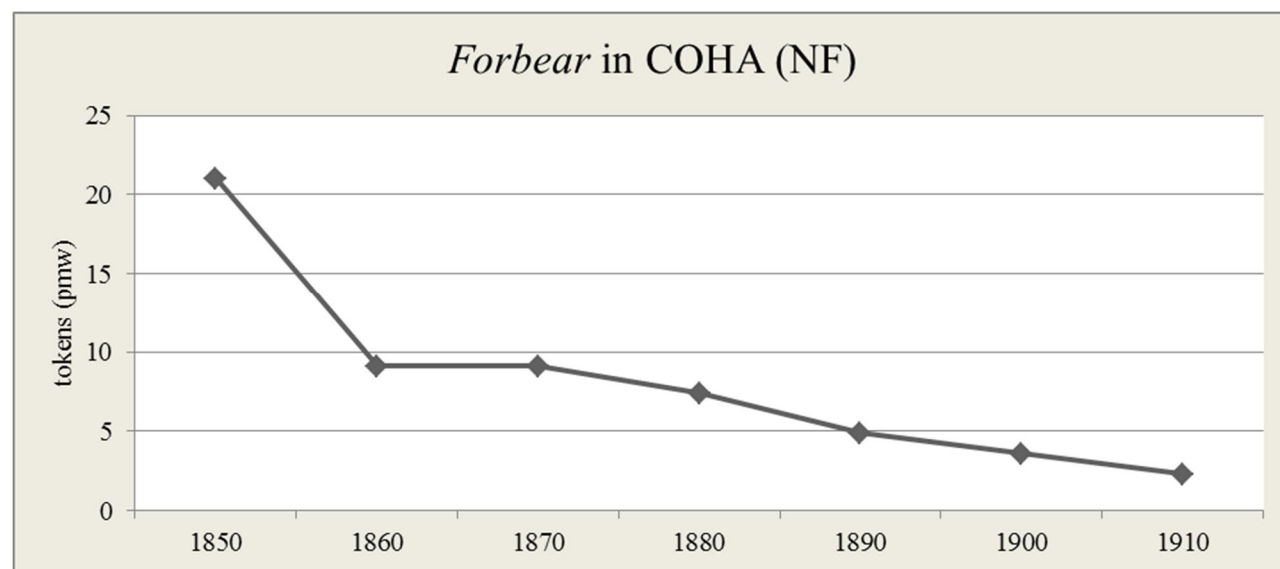


Figure 2. The number of tokens of *forbear* per million words in COHA.

The figure in 2 shows the change in the American English data, but the same trend is obvious also in the three parts of the CLMET(EV) where the drop is at least as significant (43 pmw > 18.9 pmw > 4.9 pmw). What contributed to the drop in usage cannot be explained. Perhaps, after becoming a trend word in certain types of literary texts, *forbear* simply started to sound dated as often happens with popular items. Perhaps times changed and the themes of the novels changed with them, so that the characters of the roaring twenties no longer forbore to say or feel anything. Although nowadays a moribund verb, *forbear* has not, however, become obsolete, if we can consider a sign of pulse the fifty tokens that Egan (2008:355) managed to retrieve from the vast British National Corpus.

A bigger problem for the reliability of the analysis than low count of tokens is, nevertheless, the poor dispersion of tokens especially in the British English data. There is no doubt that if over half of the

³⁶ In the light of this study. When exactly the number of tokens started to fall for *forbear* cannot be stated based on the data at hand.

tokens are produced by only three (male) writers, or even just *one* (female) writer, the results will not be fully representative of the English of the times (cf. sections 7.1 and 7.2). It is also possible that tokens coming from a single source have thwarted the results when overrepresented in the data, even though the possibility of writer idiosyncrasies was kept in mind throughout the analysis. These issues could not be solved for this study, but it is hoped that as these caveats have been noted from the outset, they have also guided the reader.

10 Conclusion

Looking at the results of this study as a whole, there are certain main points that can be stated. If we start with NP complementation, the main finding is without a doubt the understood meaning of *forbear*, which is an intriguing example of how language can convey certain meanings without actually stating them. With *forbear*, as with certain other verbs of ‘postponing’ identified by Dixon (2005), an NP complement with a SPEECH ACT noun as its head is enough to express that something has been, or in the case of *forbear*, has *not* been verbally communicated. A verb element can simply be left out. How this ‘short cut’ developed and what connects *forbear* to the semantic field of ‘speaking’ so tightly are, however, questions that could not be answered here. This element in the complementation of *forbear* in its own right could indeed be worthy of a further consideration; especially in a study that considers other similar verbs with understood meanings.

The ZERO complements were also considered capable of evoking an element of meaning that is understood, but left unrepeatable. In a sentence in which an action is first hypothesized but then refrained from, *forbear* can be used without any explicit complement. This phenomenon is known as Null Complement Anaphora, which implies an anaphoric relation between an antecedent and the ZERO complement. As a proof of such connection was regarded the four ‘do so’ proforms, i.e. sentential complements, which were used in a similar context and which definitely imply a reference backwards. However, the NCA analysis probably answered fewer questions than it gave rise to, and therefore the phenomenon in general, I feel, deserves further research.

What comes to the Great Complement Shift, it has been showed here, and also elsewhere, that *forbear* is a primary example of its development in the English complementation system. As Fanego (1996) has showed, the verb acquired the *-ing* form complement option early and it relatively quickly became the preferred complement type with the verb. In fact, almost half of the complements in

CLMETEV-1 are *-ing* forms. However, in the light of the data, the spread of the *-ing* form in the complementation system of *forbear* was strongly connected to one micro-semantic factor, that is, to the *cannot/could not* environment, which, as has been showed here, was a stronger factor influencing complementation than insertions and extractions even. A motivation for this link, based on the data and theory on the semantics of sentential complementation, seems to be the double negation of the matrix verb which renders its implication “positive”. This variation between the inherent negative and the negation induced ‘positive’ implication of the verb affects the way the complement situation is viewed; either as actualized (*-ing* form complementation) or hypothetical (*to*-infinitive). This analysis is supported by the fact that *to*-infinitive complements are more common with the past tense form of *forbear*, with which it is semantically well suited. Fanego’s (1996) suggestion that *forbear* may have copied the *cannot/could not + -ing* structure from the verb *help* also seems plausible against this background, since *help* and *forbear* are semantically not far apart in this sense.

The distribution of the sentential complements according to the type of implication was not, however, complete with *forbear*, since there are tokens that do not follow the reasoning explained above. Especially with American English it seems that the connection between the *cannot/could not* environment and the *-ing* form was clearly not as strong as it was in British English. Whether this has always been the case in American English, or whether the variety was showing the direction of the development in general, is, nevertheless, uncertain. A factor that would indicate that American English was in the lead is that, from the second part of the CLMETEV onwards, British English also started to show signs of the *to*-infinitive gaining in popularity. This change depicts a reversal in the course predicted by the Great Complement Shift, which is by no means unheard-of, but which may have contributed to the *to*-infinitive gradually starting to sound acceptable in the *cannot/could not* environment as well. Be

that as it may, the one thing that is clear is that change in the complementation patterns of *forbear* was still on-going by the end of the studied period.

What this study could be criticized for is the decision to look at the complementation and semantics of a *single* verb in its *entirety*. Admittedly, ‘case studies’ of this kind are not very common within the field of complementation studies, where the attention has turned to building bigger pictures with an array of verbs, or to concentrating on sentential complementation only. However, for me, the study of *forbear* has offered a manageable way to consider some of the most intriguing questions concerning language in general. How language is structured, how it functions, how it changes in time and how meaning is conveyed through not only lexical, but also grammatical and even understood items are questions that through study of complementation can be addressed. Nobody, from whichever field of study, can claim to fully explain these issues, but I hope that even this study of a single verb has managed to contribute to the better understanding of them.

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